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The Piano Trio in London From 1791 to 1800.

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THE PIANO TRIO IN LONDON FROM 1791 to 1800

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THE PIANO TRIO IN LONDON

FROM 1791 TO 1800

A Dissertation

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PREFACE

The accompanied sonata, that is, the sonata for keyboard with accompaniment for other instruments, is a genre that has received relatively little attention from scholars. Reasons for this are numerous, but include most prominently the following: 1) much of the music is of poor quality, even in comparison with composers' works in other media, 2) most performers are attracted to ensemble sonatas in which the instruments participate on a more nearly equal basis, and 3) the repertoire of accompanied sonatas is so immense that detailed studies are impractical without some means of limiting their scope.

One of the most important types of accompanied sonata is that which became the piano trio of the late eighteenth century. By far the best known examples of this type of accompanied sonata are the works of Joseph Haydn and, as many have indicated, the best of Haydn's trios are those which were written for publication in London during his two trips there in the 1790's. Unfortunately, these late trios of Haydn are not often performed. One reason for this is that Haydn's treatment of the violin and, especially, the cello

parts is in the manner of the accompanied sonata, rather than that of the other Viennese masters, Mozart and Beethoven, in which the string parts participate on a more nearly equal basis with the piano.

The greatness of Haydn's late piano trios, to which many scholars attest, is revealed when they are compared, not with a small number of works by Mozart and Beethoven, but with a large sample of works of the same format, published at the same time and in the same place, for the same audience, that Haydn's were. The following, then, is a study of accompanied sonatas scored for piano (or harpsichord), violin, and cello, and published in London for the first time between Haydn's first visit there, in 1791, and the end of the eighteenth century. All of the composers who published sonatas of the type described above, which are extant, are included. Only works entitled "Sonata" or "Trio" are included, a necessary limitation in view of the many marches, reels, etc. that were published in London for that instrumentation during the 1790's.

A total of 173 works by twenty different composers have been identified according to the description set forth above. Because of the difficulties involved in dating these works, it has frequently been necessary to rely on the admittedly questionable dates supplied in the British Union Catalogue of Early Music. Although this practice includes the possibility of a degree of inaccuracy, it is unlikely

that this inaccuracy alters significantly the conclusions of this study.

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ABSTRACT

The late piano trios of Joseph Haydn, which were published in London during his two trips there in 1791 and 1794, are neglected and misunderstood works. This study examines Haydn's late trios in the light of other works of the same type which were published for the same audience in order to gain a clearer perspective of this repertoire.

A variety of cultural and economic factors influenced the music considered in this study. In particular, the presence in London of a large class of affluent but relatively unsophisticated musical amateurs provided a lucrative outlet for composers who could satisfy the public's demand for new music.

The accompanied sonata, that is, the sonata for keyboard with accompaniment for other instruments, especially violin and cello, was a popular genre with London amateurs. Two varieties of accompanied sonata are found in the music studied: 1) the sonata with optional accompaniments, and 2) the concertante sonata, in which at least one of the accompanying instruments shares with the keyboard part in the presentation of melodic material and is, therefore, not optional.

Twenty composers have been identified who published a total of 173 accompanied sonatas for piano, violin, and cello in London between 1791 and 1800. These composers include well known figures such as Haydn, Muzio Clementi, and others, but also many composers about whom relatively little is known. Six composers, including Haydn, Clementi, Johann Baptist Cramer, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Leopold Kozeluch, and Ignaz Pleyel, published large numbers of trios in London. The bulk of the composers, however, published very few works.

In general, the trios conform closely to the standardized model of the classical style. Although the classical style has been described by many scholars, some aspects, such as phrase structure, are in need of further clarification and expansion. Of special interest is the frequent appearance in music of the classic era, and especially in the music examined for this study, of quatternary phrase patterns.

An examination of the sonata cycles as a whole reveals a remarkably similar approach on the part of all of the composers with regard to such factors as the number of movements in the cycle and the tempo, meter, tonality, mode, and form of these movements. The principal departures from the normal patterns in each of these areas, with the exception of the number of movements in the cycle, are found in the works of Haydn.

The similarity of approach noted with regard to the sonata cycles as a whole is also observed in an examination of the individual movements. The works of the minor composers in particular are highly conventional and resemble the stereotyped formal patterns of the classic era. Several departures from conventional formal models are found in the works of Haydn, however. One important example is Haydn's frequent synthesis of variation techniques and ternary or rondo forms.

The movements of Haydn's trios that have traditional formal structures also display unusual characteristics. Examples of these include Haydn's use of unusual tonalities and complex, often enharmonic, modulations.

The piano trios of Haydn seem to have had little influence on similar works published in London at the same time. Haydn's attempt to elevate the status of the accompanied sonata, through the use of imaginative compositional techniques, is not matched by other composers writing for the same audience.

CHAPTER I

MUSIC IN LONDON AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The music considered in this study was profoundly influenced by the audience for which it was written. In order to understand this music it is necessary to understand the culture that produced it and certain socio-economic factors that influenced it.

By the end of the eighteenth century, London was a thriving capitalistic metropolis of considerable size and wealth. Samuel Johnson described the city of London to James Boswell:

> Sir, if you wish to have a just notion of the magnitude of this City, you must not be satisfied with feeling its great streets and squares, but must survey the innumerable little alleys and courts. It is not in the shewy evolutions of buildings, but in the multiplicity of human habitations which are crowded together, that the immensity of London consists. I have often amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people. They whose narrow minds are contracted to the consideration of some one particular object, view it only through that medium. A politician thinks of it merely as a great seat of government in its different departments; a grazier, as a vast market for cattle; a mercantile man, as a place where a prodigious deal of business is done upon 'Change; a dramatic enthusiast, as the grand scene of theatrical entertain-

> ments; a man of pleasure, as an assemblage of Taverns, and the great emporium for ladies of easy virtue; but the intellectual man is struck with it, as comprehending the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplations of which is inexhaustible.'[1]

England's great wealth was due not only to the dawning of the industrial revolution but also to the great increase in commerce which took place in England during the eighteenth century. Imported luxury items from British colonies in India and the West Indies were in great demand during the eighteenth century, and as the population grew the luxuries of one generation became the necessities of the next. In 1720 the estimated value of British imports was over six million pounds. By 1760 this figure had risen to almost ten million and by 1789, thirty-seven million pounds.[2] Business prospered in eighteenth-century England because of the low taxes and freedom from government regulation.

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[1]James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. . . . 2 vols. (London: Henry Baldwin, 1791; New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1874) vol. 1, p. 260. Also quoted in Robbins Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, vol. 3: Haydn in England 1791-1795 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 24 (hereafter cited as Landon, Haydn, vol. 3).

[2]Arthur Bryant, The Years of Endurance (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), p. 18.

> Any interference with a man's property by the State was regarded as pernicious. Freemen were supposed to be free to do as they liked with their own. Taxation had, therefore, to be kept as low as possible and the extent of a man's contribution to the upkeep of the State left wherever practicable to his own choice.[3]

One result of the prosperous economic condition of late eighteenth-century England was the rise of a wealthy class of business and professional men who had leisure time and the resources to enjoy it. The wealthy upper middle class was joined by a much smaller number of nobility in a continual search for amusement. Rosamond Bayne-Powell quotes Richard Cumberland as having written:

> It is a gaudy thoughtless age, and they who live up to the fashion of it, live in a continual display of scenery, their pleasures are all pantomimes, their dinners steam along the columns of every daily paper, and their suppers and assembleys dazzle the guests with tawdry lights and suffocate them with suspicious odours.[4]

In his Journey through England John Macky describes the life of the idle rich:

> We rise by nine, and those that frequent great men's levees find entertainment at them till eleven. About twelve, the beau monde assembles in several coffee or chocolate houses. We are carried to these places in chairs or Sedans. If it is fine weather, we take a turn in the Park till two, when we go to dinner. The

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[3]Ibid., p. 17.

[4]Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth Century London Life (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1938), p. 41.

> general way is to make a party at the coffee house to go and dine at the tavern, where we sit till six, when we go to the play, unless you are invited to the table of some great man. After the play, the best company generally go to Tom's or Will's coffee houses near adjoining, where there is playing picket and the best of conversation till midnight.[5]

Music provided an important means of amusement and escape for the idle rich and an equally important means of social advancement for the less affluent but upwardly mobile middle class. The "Nobility and Gentry" flocked to the concert halls, passionately supported the performers of their choice, and avidly bought copies of music they could also play and sing. It might fairly be said that the London musical public of the late eighteenth century was guided more by enthusiasm or a desire for social advancement than by knowledge and sophistication, a phenomenon which paved the way for abuses. Alexander Ringer has written:

> . . . and in their own individual ways the melodic-rhythmic eccentricities of Clementi, the glittering passagework of Cramer, and the often self-indulging sentimental elegance of Field all satisfied the passion for novelty and built in obsolescence, the gullibility and escapist mentality of the new product oriented society. On the whole, the English public, anticipating its Continental counterparts by more than a generation, favored a domesticated type of musical art catering to the short-range emotional

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[5]Quoted in ibid., p. 45.

> effects, often at the expense of structural solidity and logic. For music, not unlike the Gothic novel, was to provide an effective counterweight to the highly rationalized behavior that produced the urban middle classes' ever-increasing material affluence.[6]

Few composers of this era were able to resist the temptation of writing whatever music the public would buy.

The public's lack of sophistication was also manifested in other ways. The manners of English audiences at concerts of this era were apparently so bad that Fanny Burney (1752-1840), the novelist-daughter of Charles Burney, had the heroine in her late eighteenth century novel Evelina say: "Indeed I am quite astonished to find how little music is attended to in silence; for though everybody seems to admire, hardly anybody listens".[7] The Bohemian composer Adalbert Gyrowetz, who lived in London during the early 1790's described a Handel festival at Westminster Abbey at which the audience ate boiled eggs, ham and other meat during the concert. Gyrowetz wrote that as one left the cathedral one had to wade through a heap of egg shells and other rubbish.[8]

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[6]Alexander Ringer, "Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School," Musical Quarterly 56 (October 1970): 744.

[7]William Weber, Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc., 1975), p. 3.

[8]Monthly Musical Record, May 1, 1895, p. 103.

Gyrowetz was one of many foreign musicians who either chose to live in London or published many of their works there in the late eighteenth century. Joseph Haydn, another foreigner who worked in London for a short time, made a catalogue of the musicians who were active there in the early 1790's.

> Singers, male and female: Mara, Storace, Billington, Cassentini, Lops, Negri, Celestini, Corri, Benda, Mrss. Barthelemon and her daughter, Schinotti, Maffei (bella, ma poco musica), Capelletti, Daevis (detta Inglesina, she sang in Naples when she was 13 years old; now she is somewhat old, but she has a good school). Mad. Seconda (passabile), Poet Badini, Mad. de Sisley, Bacchierotti, Kelly, Davide, Albertarelli, Dorelli, Lazarini (in the Pantheon), Mazzanti, Morelli, Calcagni (first soprano of the King of Sweden), Crouch, Harrison, Simoni, Miss Poole, Miss Bark, Mrss. Bland, Miss Nield.
>
> Composers: Baumgarten, Clementi, Dussek, Gyrowetz, Choris, Dr. Burney, Hüllmandel, Graff, Diettenhofer, Storace, Arnold, Barthelemon, Schield, Carter, Cramer, Tomish, Frike, Callcot (Scholar), la Trobe (dedicated his clavier sonatas to me), Mazingi (at the clavier in the Pantheon), Friderici.
>
> Clavier players: Clementi, Dussek, Gyrowetz, Diettenhofer, Burney, Mstress. Burney, Hüllmandel, Graf (likewise flautist), Miss Barthelemon, Cramer, Hummel from Vienna, Mrss. Janses, Lenz (still very young), Hässler.
>
> Violin players: Salomon, Giornovich, Cramer, Clement (petit), Schield, Hindmarsch (English), Scheener (German), Raimondi (Italian), Marquis von Serra, Durazzo, Borghi, Felix Janiewicz, Giardini.
>
> Violoncellists: Grosdill, Mendel, Mara, Sperati, Schram.
>
> Oboists: Fischer, Harrington, Lolli and his son (came from Stockholm).
>
> Flautist: Mr. Ashe.

Doctors: Burney, Hess in Oxford, Arnold, Dupuis (a great organist).[9]

The large number of foreign musicians listed in Haydn's catalogue is especially striking in comparison with the relatively small number of English musicians represented. The conditions which induced such a large number of foreign musicians to work in London need to be examined in greater detail.[10]

Perhaps the most noticeable of the many different national groups of musicians in Europe in the eighteenth century are the Italians. The popularity of Italian opera in Europe caused many Italians to leave their homeland for the rich opportunities in Europe's capital cities. Nationalistic feelings in Europe, however, began to limit the opportunities of Italians by the late eighteenth century, forcing many to look to England. Leopold Mozart wrote to his son in 1777: "the stage for these Italians

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[9]Georg August Griesinger, "Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn," in Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth Century Gentleman and Genius, trans. Vernon Gotwals (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 25-26 (hereafter cited as Griesinger, Haydn).

[10]A more extensive treatment of this subject is found in William Newman, A History of the Sonata Idea, vol. 2: The Sonata in the Classic Era (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1972), pp. 61-68 (hereafter cited as Newman, Classic).

does not extend much further than Munich and practically comes to an end there. In Mannheim, for instance, everyone except a few castrati is already German . . .".[11]

In Paris the reaction against foreign musicians was especially strong during the late eighteenth century as the power of the intellectuals who favored domestic music grew and the monarchy weakened. In the 1790's the French Revolution forced many foreigners in Paris, such as Gyrowetz, to seek refuge in London.

Another reason for the influx of foreigners into England was the active music publishing industry in London. During the period of the present study at least fourteen firms were engaged in the publication of music in London.[12] Judging from the number of these firms which

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[11]Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., The Letters of Mozart and His Family 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1938) vol. 1, p. 430.

[12]Frank Kidson in British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967) indicates that the following music publishers were active in London during the 1790's: Robert Birchall, John Bland (ceased publication in 1794), Broderip and Wilkinson (remained in business from 1799-1808), Clementi and Co. (became Longman, Clementi and Co. and later Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard and Davis), Corri and Co. (also known as Corri and Sutherland which went out of business in 1790 and was replaced by Corri, Dussek and Co. ca. 1795), J. Dale, William Forster, Goulding and Co. (became Goulding, Phipps and D'Almaine in 1799), Lewis, Houston and Hyde (began in 1796 and went out of business in 1798), F. Linley (began in 1796 and went out of business prior to 1800), Longman and Broderip (went out of business in 1795), William Napier, and Preston and Son (became Thomas Preston ca. 1798).

were forced into bankruptcy during this period, it would appear that the publication of music in late eighteenth century London was a highly speculative venture, perhaps offering great potential for the aspiring young composer.

Another reason foreign musicians were attracted to London was the high level of concert activity which took place there. Robbins Landon quotes the Public Advertiser of January 7, 1791 which reveals the extent of that activity:

> MUSICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK, THROUGH THE WINTER SEASON
>
> Sunday-----The Noblemen's Subscription, is held every Sunday at a different House.
>
> Monday-----The Professional Concert--at the Hanover Square Rooms--with Mrs. Billington.
>
> Tuesday----The Opera.
>
> Wednesday--The ancient music at the rooms in Tottenham Street, under the Patronage of their Majesties.
>
> -----The Anacreon Society also, occasionally, on Wednesday.
>
> Thursday---The Pantheon. A Pasticcio of Music and Dancing, in case the Opera Coalition shall take place; if not, a concert with Madame Mara and Sig. Pacchierotti.
>
> -----Academy of Ancient Music, every other Thursday, at Freemason's Hall.
>
> Friday-----A concert under the auspices of Haydn at the Rooms, Hanover Square, with Sig. David.

Saturday---The Opera[13]

The level of concert activity shown in the Public Advertiser did not continue, of course, through the 1790's. After 1795 the level of concert activity in London dropped considerably because of England's involvement in the Wars of the French Revolution.[14]

One reason concert activity flourished in London may be found in the relationship between the aristocracy and the central government in England. In England the aristocracy was much more independent of the monarchy in cultural matters than in some other countries.

> Indeed, the aristocracy functioned better as a patron of art and letters than even the old fashioned form of Kingship. Monarchy may sometimes have taste, as in the France of Louis XIV and XV, but it concentrates everything at Court as the one acknowledged center of light and learning. But the English aristocracy had not one centre but hundreds scattered all over the country in 'gentlemen's seats' and provincial towns, each of them a focus of learning and taste that more than made up for the decay of learning at the official Universities and of taste at the Hanoverian Court. George II patronized Handel's music but nothing else. It did not matter, because patronage had passed into thousands of other hands--though not yet into the hands of millions.[15]

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[13]Quoted in Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 41.

[14]Weber, Music and the Middle Class, p. 4.

[15]G.M. Trevelyan, The Eighteenth Century, vol. 3: Illustrated English Social History (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1942), p. 104.

The aristocracy in England also included a variety of different groups.

> The social aristocracy of that day included not only the great nobles but also the squires, the wealthier clergy, and the cultivated middle class who consorted with them on familiar terms . . . That great society, broad based on adequate numbers, and undisputed in its social privilege, could afford to look for quality in everything.[16]

In France, on the other hand, the state maintained a tight control over the arts in order to restrict the power of the aristocracy and intellectuals. State control of the arts also existed to protect the national opera and to prevent the development of an independent musical culture.[17]

In Vienna the situation was quite different from the other major cultural centers. Vienna became a major capital city much later than London or Paris, and as a result large scale public concerts did not become common until the 1780's. Vienna was further hampered in its cultural development by the fact that the nobility generally lived in the city only part of the year and did not sponsor concerts as a result. Because of these factors most concerts available to the public in Vienna were

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[16]Ibid., p. 103.

[17]Weber, Music and the Middle Class, p. 5.

small-scaled events usually staffed by amateurs, and the most important musical events were private concerts in the houses of aristocrats.[18]

One of the most important influences on the concert life of London in the 1790's was the presence of Joseph Haydn in that city. Haydn made two extended visits to London in the 1790's, the first from January of 1791 until June of 1792 and the second from February of 1794 until August of 1795.

Throughout the 1780's Haydn's services were in considerable demand, especially in London. Haydn's popularity in London is shown by the numerous requests for his music by London publishers at that time and also by the fact that in 1783 Haydn was offered the position of director of the Professional Concerts, a performing organization established in that year in London. Haydn refused this offer because he was not in a position to leave his patron Prince Nicholas Esterhazy and was unwilling to ask for a leave of absence at that time. In the year 1790, however, Prince Nicholas died and his successor Prince Anton did not share his father's enthusiasm for music. As a result it became possible for Haydn to

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[18]Ibid.

accept the very handsome offer made to him by the London impresario Johann Peter Salomon (1745-1815) who had formed his own concert organization in London in 1786 to compete with the Professional Concert. Haydn may have had other reasons besides the death of Prince Nicholas, however, for reconsidering a trip to London. During the 1780's Haydn had grown increasingly unhappy with his life at Esterhazy. Following a trip to Vienna Haydn wrote to his intimate friend Marianne von Genzinger:

> Well, here I sit in my wilderness--forsaken--like a poor waif--almost without any human society--melancholy--full of the memories of past glorious days--yes! past alas!--and who knows when these days shall return again? Those wonderful parties? Where the whole circle is one heart, one soul--all those beautiful musical evenings--which can only be remembered, and not described--where are all those enthusiastic moments?--all gone--and gone for a long time.[19]

Haydn's visits to London brought new life to the aging composer just as they stimulated the public's interest in music.

The London musical public eagerly awaited the arrival of Haydn. The Morning Chronicle of December 30, 1790 describes the events of the coming season:

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[19]H. C. Robbins, ed. and trans. The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1959), p. 96 (hereafter cited as Landon, CCLN).

> The musical arrangements now in the making promise a most harmonious winter.
>
> Besides two rival Opera houses, a Concert is planned under the Auspices of Haydn, whose name is a tower of strength and to whom the Amateurs of instrumental music look up to as a god of science. Of this concert Salomon is to be the leader and Madame Mara the principal singer.
>
> The Professional Concert under the able conduct of Cramer is to be reinforced by Mrs. Billington, assisted occasionally by Mr. and Mrs. Harrison.
>
> The Ancient concert under the patronage of their Majesties will continue soon after the Queen's Birthday, with Cramer as their leader and Storace as the principal singer. The Ladies subscription concert is to be continued as usual on the Sunday evenings by permission (we hope) of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. There will be Oratorios twice a week, at the Theatres of Drury-Lane and Covent-garden during Lent.
>
> These with the Academy of Ancient Music will constitute the principal public musical entertainments of the winter.[20]

The interest of the London musical public was aroused even further by the intense rivalry which soon developed between the Professional Concert and Salomon's organization. Unable to compete with the brilliant success of Salomon's organization, the Professional Concert twice attempted to induce Haydn to join them at a higher salary and, failing that, secured the services of Haydn's best student Ignaz Pleyel (1757-1831). The acquisition of Pleyel by the Professional Concert was accompanied by a media campaign calculated to discredit Haydn. According

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[20]Quoted in Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 30.

to Robbins Landon the Gazetteer of February 5, 1791 reports:

> The nine days wonder about Haydn begins to abate. He has been exhibited at the Anacreontic Society and other musical meetings greatly to the amazement of John Bull who expected to hear another Cramer or Clementi. But the truth is, this wonderful composer is but a very poor performer; and though he may be qualified to preside at the harpsichord, we have never heard him celebrated as a leader of a concert. His pupil Pleyel with perhaps less science, is a more popular composer from his more frequent introduction of air into his harmonies and the general smoothness and elegance of his melodies.[21]

That a composer like Pleyel could be seen as a serious challenge to Haydn seems almost incredible today, but a curious feature of the late eighteenth century is that, not only Pleyel, but also even such lesser known figures as the Bohemian composers Kozeluch and Gyrowetz were as well appreciated, at least for a time, as Haydn. No less a figure than Mozart wrote to his father concerning Pleyel's first group of Quartets:

> I must tell you that some quartets have just appeared, composed by a certain Pleyel, a pupil of Joseph Haydn. If you do not know them, do try and get hold of them; you will find them worth the trouble. They are very well written and most pleasing to listen to. You will see at once who was his master. Well it will be a lucky day for music if later on Pleyel should be able to replace Haydn.[22]

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[21] Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 44.

[22] From a letter of April 24, 1784 quoted in Anderson, Mozart, vol. 2, p. 875.

The London press and public followed this rivalry with great interest and in time London became divided into two highly partisan factions, each supporting the musician of its choice.

The element of competition is visible in other areas as well. According to his contract with Salomon, Haydn was to write the opera L'anima del filosofo for Sir John Gallini, who hoped to be granted a license to produce opera in competition with the established opera company in the Parthenon theater. Unfortunately, even though Gallini's venture had the backing of the Prince of Wales, the Parthenon theater was supported by the King and politics prevailed. Because Gallini was denied his license, Haydn's opera was not performed in London at all during his first visit there.

Although the amount of musical activity in London in the late eighteenth century may have been great, it may not be accurate to assume that the quality of the performances, or even of much of the music itself, was equally great. The apparent lack of sophistication on the part of the London musical public allowed composers of lesser stature ample opportunity to enrich themselves by writing mediocre music in prodigious quantities. Succeeding chapters in this report give abundant testimony as to the

quality of music the London public bought and, presumably, performed themselves. In addition, concert programs of the era reveal the quality of music which was performed at public concerts.

Two sources of information exist concerning performance standards in late eighteenth-century London. First, it is possible to infer from the difficulty of the literature itself what level of ability the composer expected. Judging from the difficult string parts found in Haydn's "London" symphonies, professional string players in London must have been very good indeed.[23] The level of ability expected of amateur string players was apparently much lower. In the works investigated for this report, all of which are presumed to have been written primarily for amateurs, the string parts are quite elementary. The piano parts in the works in question are sometimes moderately difficult, leading to the conclusion that amateur pianists were more capable than amateur string players.

It is known that several very capable amateur pianists were in London at this time, most of them women. In his autobiography, Gyrowetz commented on amateur music in London:

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[23]Ibid., p. 28.

> The girls are mostly musical and either well versed in the piano or in singing, and know how to spend their evenings very pleasantly in this way. The men, however, are slightly or not at all musical, but they love to listen to music.[24]

According to Robbins Landon, all but the last three of Haydn's late trios were written for anonymous amateur pianists such as Therese Jansen, Madame Marie Bigot, and Baroness Dorothea von Ertmann.[25] Madame Bigot and Baroness von Ertmann were praised by both Haydn and Beethoven for their technical skill.[26] Three of Haydn's most challenging piano trios (Hoboken XV:27, XV:28 and XV:29) are dedicated to Therese Jansen. Even the Princess of Brunswick played the piano with reasonable skill. Haydn wrote about a musical evening with the Prince and Princess:

> On April 8, 1795, was the marriage of the Prince of Wales' in Carlton House. On the tenth I was invited to a musical evening at the Prince of Wales' in Carlton House. An old symphony was given, which I accompanied at the clavier, afterwards a quartet; then I had to sing German and English songs. The Princess also sang with me; she played a concerto on the pianoforte pretty well.[27]

In summary, Landon has written that "piano amateurs were becoming a race of their own, with brilliant techniques

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[24]Quoted in Geiringer, Haydn, p. 95.

[25]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 411.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Landon, CCLN, pp. 305-306.

and a special flair for expressive effects."[28]

Amateur string players are somewhat less visible in contemporary accounts than pianists are. An insight into the quality of amateur string players in London can be gained from a story told by Haydn to his early biographer Albert Christoph Dies concerning the now lost "Jacob's Dream" sonata, believed to be Haydn's only authentic sonata for violin and piano. According to Dies' account, Haydn wrote this sonata in order to embarrass a London dilettante.

> He [Haydn] was closely acquainted in London with a German musical amateur who had acquired a skill on the violin bordering on virtuosity, but who had the bad habit of always playing too close to the bridge in the highest tones. Haydn decided to try if possible to break the dilettante of his habit and give him a feeling for a solid manner of playing.
>
> The dilettante often visited a Miss J[ansen] who played the pianoforte with great skill while he usually accompanied. Haydn wrote in perfect secrecy a sonata for the pianoforte with a violin accompaniment, entitled the sonata "Jacob's Dream," and sent it, sealed and unsigned, by a trusty hand to Miss J[ansen], who likewise did not delay to try over the sonata, which appeared easy, in the company of the dilettante. What Haydn had foreseen duly came to pass. The dilettante remained stuck in the highest registers, where most of his passages lay. Soon Miss J[ansen] suspected that the unknown composer intended to depict the ladder to heaven that Jacob saw in his dream and then noticed how the dilettante now ponderously, uncertainly, stumbling, now reeling, skipping, climbed up and down this ladder. The thing seemed so funny

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[28] Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 411.

> to her that she could not hide her laughter, while the dilettante abused the unknown composer, and boldly maintained that he did not know how to write for the violin.
>
> Only after five or six months did it come out that the sonata's author was Haydn, who then received for it a present from Miss J[ansen] .[29]

While amateur cellists are mentioned even less often than violinists in contemporary accounts, there are still a few noteable examples. The Prince of Wales is known to have been a reasonably good cellist. Haydn wrote, concerning another of his many musical evenings, this time at the residence of the Duke of York:

> . . . no compositions were played but Haydn's. I directed the symphonies at the piano. The sweet little lady [the Duchess] sat close beside me at my left hand and hummed all the pieces from memory, having heard them often in Berlin. The Prince of Wales sat at my right and accompanied me very tolerably on the violoncello.[30]

An important factor which influenced amateur performance in the late eighteenth century was the rigid sexual stereotyping of instrumentalists that was common at that time. By convention, the piano, guitar, and harp were the sole province of female instrumentalists, while the

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[29] Albert Christoph Dies, Biographisches Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn, ed. and trans. in Vernon Gotwals, Joseph Haydn Eighteenth Century Gentleman and Genius (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 170-171.

[30] Quoted in Geiringer, Haydn, p. 106.

violin, flute, and cello were restricted to males.[31] For example, the Times of February 27, 1817, in a review of a concert at which a woman played a violin concerto, reported that the violin was "unsuitable to the prescriptive habits and accomplishments of a female."[32] It may be, then, that amateur female pianists excelled amateur male violinists and cellists in performance ability because the women had more leisure time to cultivate their musical skills, while men were more involved in business activities.

Judging again from the level of difficulty found in the music of this period, the ability which composers expected from cellists was less than that expected from violinists. In the works examined for this study the cello parts very rarely do more than double the lower line of the piano part and tend to be remarkably simple. The violin parts, on the other hand, frequently contain much more difficult writing and occasionally contain solo material.

Another source of information concerning performance standards in late eighteenth century London is found in

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[31] Nicholas Temperley, "Domestic Music in England 1800-1860," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Academy 85 (1958-1959): 35.

[32] Ibid.

the contemporary accounts of reliable witnesses such as Haydn. While he was in London, Haydn kept notebooks in which he recorded miscellaneous information ranging from statistics on the amount of coal used in London in a year to valuable critiques of performances. Of the four notebooks Haydn compiled, three have survived while the fourth is available only as it was recorded by two early biographers of Haydn, Georg August Griesinger and Albert Christoph Dies. In these notebooks Haydn generally speaks well of instrumental musicians in London. Certain practices mentioned by Haydn lead one to wonder, however. Haydn wrote in his notebook:

> On March 30, 1795, I was invited to a great concert by Dr. Arnold and his supporters. A great symphony was to have been played under my direction, but since they had not been willing to have a rehearsal I refused and did not show up.[33]

Haydn was not always kind to singers in general and to opera productions:

> On March 28, 1795, I saw the opera Acis e Galathea by Bianchi. The music is very rich in wind instruments, and it seems to me that if it were less so, one might hear the main melody better. The opera is too long, especially since Banti has to sustain it alone, for Brida, a good youngster with a beautiful voice, but not very musical, Rovedino, and the good Braghetti and wretched second lady deserved and got not the least applause. The orchestra this year has more

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[33] Griesinger, Haydn, p. 30.

> personnel, but even so is mechanical and badly placed as it was before, and indiscreet in accompaniment. In short, it was the third time this opera was presented, and everything was unsatifactory.[34]

Haydn wrote, concerning an opera at the Haymarket Theater on July 29, 1794:

> It is the same wretched stuff here as in Sadler's Wells. A fellow screams an aria so frightfully and with such extreme grimacing that I began to sweat all over. N.B. He had to repeat the aria. O che bestie![35]

It is apparent that musical activity in late eighteenth-century London was both considerable in extent and diverse in nature. Much of this musical activity was a result of the enthusiasm of London's many musical amateurs. One consequence of this enthusiasm by relatively unsophisticated amateurs, however, was the formation of a musical culture that could tolerate low standards of quality. In chapter two the influence of this culture on one of the most popular media of the eighteenth century, the accompanied sonata, is discussed.

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 31.

CHAPTER II

THE ACCOMPANIED SONATA IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The works discussed in the following chapters are generally classified as accompanied sonatas, that is, sonatas for harpsichord or piano with accompaniments for other instruments, in this case violin and violoncello. Several recent studies concerning the accompanied sonata[1]

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[1]Several sources of information concerning the accompanied sonata are listed in William Newman, A History of the Sonata Idea. vol.2: The Sonata in the Classic Era, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W.Norton and Co., 1972), p. 99. (hereafter cited as Newman, Classic) These are: Hugo Riemann, introduction to Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, vol.XV and Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, vol.XXXIX; Gaetano Cesari, "Origini del trio con pianoforte," in Gaetano Cesari: Scritti inediti, ed. Franco Abbiati (Milan: Carish, 1937), pp. 183-198.; Wilhelm Fischer, "Mozarts Weg von der begleiteten Klaviersonate zur Kammermusik mit Klavier," Mozart Jahrbuch 1956: 16-34.; Eduard Reeser, De Klaviersonate met Vioolbegeleiding in het parijsche Muziekleven ten Tijde van Mozart (Rotterdam: W.L.&J.Brusse, 1939); William Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," Musical Quarterly 33 (1947): 327-349.; Lionel de la Laurencie, L'Ecole francaise de violon de Lully a Viotti, 3 vols. (Paris: Delgrave, 1922-1924), vol.2, pp. 412-414, vol.3, pp. 147-152.; Bruno Studeny, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Violin-sonate im 18. Jahrhundert (Munich: Wunderhorn verlag, 1911), pp. 79-85.; Fausto Torrefranca, Le Origini italiane del romanticismo musicale: i primitivi della sonata moderna (Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1930), pp. 569, 587-598, and 628-631.

preclude a lengthy discourse on the subject here, although a brief summary of previous studies would seem to be in order.

Historically, the accompanied sonata is the descendent of both the Baroque trio sonata and the solo keyboard tradition. It represents an interesting reversal of roles: from the Baroque ideal of a solo treble instrument with subordinant keyboard basso continuo evolved in a remarkably short span of time the accompanied sonata, consisting of a dominant keyboard part and subordinant treble and, sometimes, bass instruments.

Accompanied sonatas presented a variety of options to the performer.[2] First, the accompaniments themselves might either be performed or omitted, as may be intended by titles such as "Three Sonatas for the Pianoforte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Violoncello ad libitum . . . op.6" by J. N. Forkel (ca.1798). Secondly, the option was frequently given of using either the flute or violin as the treble instrument, as is seen in J. N. Hummel's op.3, which is entitled "Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or

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[2]Much of the following information is taken from William Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," pp. 327-349.

Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or Flute and Violoncello" (ca.1794). The latter is also illustrative of another option, that of using either the piano or Harpsichord.

As Newman points out, the option of using either the piano or harpsichord began to disappear from the titles of accompanied sonatas around the year 1785.[3] In spite of this, approximately 40 per cent of the music surveyed in this study retains the option of either the piano or harpsichord. It should be noted, however, that the piano is almost invariably listed first in the titles of the sonatas which retain this option.

A less common substitute for the piano is seen in titles such as "Three Sonatas for the Harp or Piano-Forte, with or without the Additional Keys, with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello" by S. Philip Seybold (ca. 1795). Although options such as the above may have been common during the early history of the accompanied sonata, as pointed out by Newman,[4] by the time of the 1790's they were much less common.

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[3] Newman, Classic, p. 85.

[4] Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," pp. 342-346.

Of the optional procedures listed above, perhaps the most significant to the present study is that of performing or omitting the accompaniments. Late in the eighteenth century the two string parts were generally more indispensable than in earlier times, as is reflected in titles such as "Sonata for Piano with Violin and Violoncello Obbligato" or simply "Sonata for Piano, Violin, and Violoncello."

William Newman has categorized several ways in which the violin part might participate in an accompanied sonata.[5] First, the violin might simply double one of the voices of the keyboard part, often the top line, or proceed in parallel thirds and sixths with the keyboard's top line. The violin may also be used to fill out the harmony with either sustained tones or accompanimental figures. Another possibility is that the violin may sustain the principal melody while the keyboard engages in a more elaborate version. Finally, the violin may participate in a kind of simple dialogue with the keyboard part or even take the lead in a phrase occasionally.

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[5]The following information is taken from Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," pp. 342-346.

By the end of the eighteenth century all of the methods described above continued to be used in the accompanied sonata, although with some modifications. As the accompaniments became more indispensable, the amount of solo material given to the violin became greater than Newman's article may lead one to expect. More than half of the sonatas examined for this study contain material for the violin which is essential for melodic continuity. The same thing cannot be said for the cello parts in these works. Although several sonatas contain some independent writing for the cello, in only one, a sonata in D major from Joseph Mazzinghi's Op.39, does the cello present important melodic material.

In addition to the type of accompanied sonata described by Newman, in which the string parts play a minor role, another type of sonata, which has been called the concertante sonata, existed in the eighteenth century.[6] This concertante sonata, in which at least one of the string parts participates equally with the piano in the presentation of melodic material, actually existed simultaneously with the variety described by Newman until it was over-

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[6]Ronald R.Kidd, "The Emergence of Chamber Music with Obligato Keyboard in England," Acta Musicologica 44 (1972): 122.

shadowed by the latter around 1760.[7] In spite of this, the concertante sonata was still known well enough in the 1790's to be recognized as a separate type of sonata by August Kollman in his Essay on Practical Musical Composition of 1799.[8]

An important question which remains to be answered is why composers of the late eighteenth century chose to abandon, for the most part, the concertante sonata in favor of the sonata with optional accompaniments. Two possible explanations for the optional accompaniments in the accompanied sonata are offered by William Newman. One is that the weak tone of the early piano made the fortifying of its tone through the doubling of melodic lines by the stringed instruments necessary. Newman has noted frequent references to the inadequacy of tone in the keyboard instruments of the late eighteenth century in writings by composers of that period.[9] This apparent weakness of tone did not prevent Beethoven, Mozart, and many other composers from writing at least some independent material for the stringed instruments, however, and thus cannot be the only explanation for

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," p. 340.

the type of writing found frequently in this study.

Another explanation offered by Newman and others is that accompanied sonatas were written for performance by amateurs and, as a result, could not contain difficult parts, especially for the strings. Griesinger wrote concerning certain early works of Haydn:

> Besides performing and teaching, Haydn was untiring in his composing. Many of his easy clavier sonatas, trios, and so forth belong to this period, and he mostly took into account the need and capacity of his pupils. Only a few of the originals remained in his possession. He gave them away and felt honored when they were accepted.[10]

Correspondence between Haydn and his publishers also reveals the type of performer Haydn expected to buy his accompanied sonatas. On December 10, 1786 Haydn wrote to the publisher Artaria complaining about the quality of the engraving in some of his recently published sonatas that "even a professional would have to study before disentangling this passage, and then where would the dilettante be?"[11]

While amateurs may have been the largest group of musicians who bought and performed these works, it is inaccurate to assume that they were the only ones who did

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[10]Griesinger, Haydn, p. 15.

[11]Landon, CCLN, p. 51.

so. A list of subscribers published with Louis von Esch's three accompanied sonatas op.12 reveals that a number of professional musicians, among them, Haydn, Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858), the noted singer Giacomo Davide, Nicholaus Hüllmandel (1756-1823), and Ignaz Pleyel (1757-1831) received copies of these sonatas. In addition, upper class amateurs often employed servants who were talented musicians. An advertisement in the Wiener Zeitung in 1789 reads: "Wanted by a nobleman, a servant who plays the violin well and is able to accompany difficult piano sonatas."[12] Musicians of this sort may be considered to have been at least semi-professional.

Because accompanied sonatas are assumed to have been written for amateurs, the conventional view is that they were not intended for public performance. In 1760 Charles Avison (1709-1770) wrote in the preface to his sonatas for harpsichord with accompaniments for two violins and cello op.7 that:

> this kind of Music is not, indeed, calculated so much for public Entertainment, as for private Amusement. It is rather like a Conversation among Friends, where Few are of one Mind, and propose their mutual Sentiments, only to give Variety, and enliven their select Company.[13]

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[12]Quoted in Geiringer, Haydn, p. 38, n. 3.

[13]Quoted in Newman, Classic, p. 46.

To maintain that accompanied sonatas were never performed at public concerts, however, is inaccurate. According to Leon Plantinga, the Public Advertiser of February 16, May 5 and 11, 1798 (in announcements of a concert sponsored by the Professional Concerts and benefit concerts for Salomon and Luigi Borghi respectively) listed on the programs a work by Clementi known variously as "Concertante for Pianoforte, Violin and Cello" or "Concertante for pianoforte" or simply "Concertata". Plantinga also states that on June 11, 1798, the Morning Post reported that, at a benefit concert for Nancy Storace, the opera Il Barbiere di Siviglia by Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) was performed, and that between acts I and II was included a "Trio for the Piano Forte, Violin, and Violoncello, by Messrs. Clementi, Cramer and Cervetto".

Plantinga has said of the evidence described above that "this is the first clear indication that accompanied keyboard sonatas by Clementi or . . . by any composer, were performed at public concerts."[14] There are, however, other examples of accompanied sonatas being performed at public concerts. According to Robbins Landon, on April 20, 1792, in the eighth of Salomon's subscription concerts

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[14]Leon Plantinga, Clementi: His Life and Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1977) pp. 115-116.

of that year, was performed a piano trio by Haydn in A-flat (Hob.XV:14).[15] Landon also indicates that on another of Salomon's concerts, on April 15, 1791, the following work was listed on the program: "Sonata, Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck, with an accompaniment for a Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello, by Messrs. Salomon, Hindmarsch, and Mendel."[16]

The public performances listed above raise some interesting possibilities. In the announcements of the sonata by Clementi in the Public Advertiser on May 5 and 11, the names of no string players are included, a fact which has led Plantinga to speculate that perhaps the orchestra itself performed the string parts.[17] If this be true the relationship between the accompanied sonata and the piano concerto may be more significant than has been previously thought. This relationship has been suggested by such works as "Grande Sonate pour le piano, avec accompagnement de l'orchestre" (before 1822) of Anton Felix Beczwarowsky (1754-1823) and by the fact that Clementi arranged two solo sonatas (opp. 32/2 and 34/1) from his

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[15]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 157.

[16]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 65.

[17]Ibid.

own piano concertos.[18]

The possibility of public performance helps to explain one unusual feature of Haydn's piano trios. The first movements of three of Haydn's trios which are included in this study, Hob.XV:18, XV:24, and XV:29, begin with a curious feature which has been called the "noise killer" effect.[19] The three works in question begin with loud chords, played by all three instruments, which serve no apparent structural purpose. This practice has been observed in other works which Haydn wrote during his trips to London, specifically the string quartets Opp.71 and 74. The reason for this technique, which appears almost exclusively in the London works, is apparently to quiet the noisy London audiences mentioned in chapter one. One possible explanation for Haydn's use of this type of opening in the piano trios is that it was contemplated that these works might, at some point, be used in a public performance.

Even if formal public performances of accompanied sonatas were uncommon, there may still have been abundant opportunities for the performance of these works in more

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[18]Newman, Classic, p. 109.

[19]Laszlo Somfai, "The London Revision of Haydn's Instrumental Style," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100 (1973-1974): 167.

informal settings which might still have involved fairly large audiences. Because printed programs for "musical evenings" in the homes of prominent individuals have not been found, there is no way to prove that accompanied sonatas were actually performed there, although it seems likely that they were. In chapter one informal concerts are described at the residence of the Prince of Wales, at which Haydn was present. Actually, these events were a regular part of Haydn's professional activities in London. Griesinger reports that upon Haydn's return to Vienna after his second trip to London, Haydn presented the Prince a bill for 100 guineas as payment for twenty-six appearances at Carlton House.[20] Private concerts at which accompanied sonatas might have been performed were by no means limited to London. Because of factors discussed in chapter one, conditions in Vienna favored private concerts in the homes of aristocrats.

In chapter one a musical evening at the residence of the Duke of York is described at which Haydn directed symphonies from the piano and the Duke accompanied on the cello (see above, p. 20). This statement concerning symphonies raises another interesting question. It was

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[20]Griesinger, Haydn, p. 34.

common in the eighteenth century for popular symphonies to be transcribed for performance by small instrumental ensembles, often piano, violin and cello. Several Mannheim composers even wrote pieces like J. Stamitz's Six Sonates a trois parties concertantes qui sont faites pour executer ou a trois, ou avec toutes l'orchestre, Op.1 (ca. 1755).[21] Another example is found in Salomon's transcriptions of six of Haydn's London Symphonies (numbers 97-104) for piano, violin, and cello, which were published in London in 1798.[22] It is possible that symphonies were sometimes performed in this manner at informal concerts since the alternative of supplying a full orchestra would seem to be a complicated and expensive procedure.

The Publication of Accompanied Sonatas

Certain practices on the part of publishers in the eighteenth century present problems for modern scholars. It was common at this time for opus numbers of works to be assigned at the time of publication. Many works were published by several different publishers, however, and each

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[21] Newman, Classic, p. 109.

[22] Edith B. Schnapper, ed., The British Union Catalogue of Early Music 2 vols. (London: Butterworth, 1957), vol. 1, p. 469.

publisher frequently assigned his own opus number. This practice might have been the result of ignorance or apathy on the part of publishers but some publishers may have intentionally issued new opus numbers in order to make the public think they were actually publishing new music.

Another problem faced by scholars is that ensemble sonatas in the eighteenth century were rarely published in score but rather in separate parts. According to William Newman, English publishers were among the first to begin to publish chamber works in score, having published the accompanied sonatas of J. C. Bach, among others, in this way.[23] None of the works examined in this study were published in score, however. English publishers did usually provide cues in the piano score for the stringed instruments at points at which they did something other than double the piano part. It would be possible, in fact, to perform these works from only one copy, the violinist simply doubling the top line of the piano part when no cues are given and the cellist doing the same with the bottom line. Outside of England few publishers even included these cues, much less provided a complete score.

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[23]Newman, Classic, p. 77.

It was not until 1817 that a chamber work of Beethoven, the cello sonata Op.102, was published in a complete score.[24] The autographs of Mozart's piano trios are written in score but in a curious way, revealing the composer's thought process: the violin part is written above the piano part while the cello part is written below.[25]

Sonatas in the eighteenth century were usually published in groups. The number of works contained in each set became smaller and smaller throughout the eighteenth century, from as many as twelve (two groups of six each) before mid-century to the publication of individual sonatas beginning with Mozart's K.457 in 1785.[26] The great majority of the sonatas examined for this study were published in sets of three works each. The number of sets of sonatas which were published in each edition is also known in a few cases. According to Newman, the number of works printed in an eighteenth-century edition was probably between 150 and 600, although Paris editions of as many as 1,500 copies are known.[27] Lists of subscribers of the works included in

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Walter Willson Cobbett, Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), vol.

[26] Newman, Classic, p. 78.

[27] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

this study appear to be closer to the former range. In the case of J. N. Hummel's op.3, for example, 197 subscribers received a total of 295 copies.

Publishers in the late eighteenth century were less particular about the quality of the music they published than modern publishers are. According to Newman, an anonymous publisher wrote in 1799:

> This composition mania is now gone so far that in nearly every town of any size music publishers are or will be established that, in order to supply nothing but novelties, accept and publish anything they can engrave. There are always little men who will buy anything without looking so long as it is new.[28]

Publishers and composers of this era were not above resorting to plagiarism. Perhaps the most commonly plagiarized works in the late eighteenth century were those of Haydn. According to Landon the Morning Chronicle of January 14, 1791, reported:

> Since Haydn's arrival in this country, he has discovered the remains of several of his early Concertos i.e., Symphonies that were first kidnapped and afterwards most inhumanely robbed and mangled by some of our Original Composers. A jury of Amateurs has sat on the Bodies, and brought in a verdict--willful murder by persons unknown.[29]

In spite of the quotation above, the London public and press appears to have been remarkably tolerant of

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[28]Quoted in Newman, Classic, p. 47.

[29]Quoted in Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 42.

the plagiarism and cheap imitations to which they were subjected. It may be that Haydn himself was not above plagiarism. Records have been found of a lawsuit which was filed against Haydn by his former student, Ignaz Pleyel.[30] It appears that two piano trios, Hob.XV:3 and XV:4, published under Haydn's name, were actually written by Pleyel. Because Pleyel was awarded damages in this suit, Haydn must have been found guilty. In fairness to Haydn, however, it may be that Haydn's plagiarism was simply caused by his failure to remember which compositions were written by him and which were written by his student, Pleyel.

Table 1 presents a list of the accompanied sonatas scored for piano, violin, and cello that were published in London for the first time between 1791 and 1800. The dates given are, in most instances, those supplied in the British Union Catalogue of Early Music.

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[30]Alan Tyson, "Haydn and Two Stolen Trios," The Music Review 22 (1961): 21-27.

Table 1

Works entitled "Sonata" or "Trio" which were published in London for the first time between 1791 and 1800

Composer	Work	Date	Instrumentation	Publisher	Remarks
Clementi	3 sons. op.27	1792	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Clementi	3 sons. op.28	1792	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	Preston	
Clementi	3 sons. op.29	c.1795	pf.+vln.±vc.	Dale	
Clementi	3 sons. op.35	1796	pf.+vln.±vc.	Preston	
Cramer	3 sons. op.9	c.1795	pf.+vln.or fl.±vc.	L&B	
Cramer	3 sons. op.11	1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	
Cramer	3 sons. op.12	1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	
Cramer	3 sons. op.14	c.1800	pf.+vln.+vc.	Preston	
Cramer	3 sons. op.15	c.1798	pf.+vln.±vc.	L&B	
Cramer	3 sons. op.18	1799	pf.+vln.±vc.	Birchall	
Cramer	3 sons. op.19	c.1799	pf.+vln.+vc.	Longman,Clementi	
Dussek	3 sons. op.20	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	Author	
Dussek	3 sons. op.31	c.1794	pf.+vln.or fl.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	
von Esch	3 sons. op.12	c.1797	pf.+vln.+vc.	Author	
von Esch	3 sons. op.13	c.1798	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Ferrari	3 sons. op.11	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Ferrari	3 sons. op.40	c.1800	pf.+vln.+vc.	Birchall	

Table 1 (continued)

Composer	Work	Date	Instrumentation	Publisher	Remarks
Forkel	3 sons. op.6	c.1800	pf.+vln.±vc.	Broderip & Wilkinson	
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.9	c.1793	pf.or H.+vln.±vc.	L&B	
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.14	c.1794	pf.+vln.+vc.	Dale	
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.18	1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.20	1796	pf.+vln. or fl.+vc.	Linley	
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.22	1798	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	Same as op.18(?)
Gyrowetz	3 sons. op.23	1799	pf.+vln.+vc.	Longman, Clementi	
Gyrowetz	1 trio op.15	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Haydn	1 son. op.?	1794	pf.+vln.+vc.	Preston	Hob.XV:32
Haydn	3 sons. op.70	1794	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	Hob.XV:18-20
Haydn	3 sons. op.71	1794	pf.+vln.+vc.	Preston	Hob.XV:21-23
Haydn	3 sons. op.73	1794	pf+vln.+vc.	Preston	Hob.XV:24-26
Haydn	1 son. op.?	1796?	pf.+vln.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	Hob.XV:30
Haydn	3 sons. op.?	1796?	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	Hob.XV:27-29
Hoberechts	1 trio op.5	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Hoberechts	1 trio op.6	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Hummel	1 son. op.3/1	c.1793	pf.+vln.or fl.+vc.	L&B	

Table 1 (continued)

Composer	Work	Date	Instrumentation	Publisher	Remarks
King	1 son. op.8	c.1797	pf+vln.+vc.	Author	
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.23	1795	pf.or H.+vln.±vc.	L&B	P.IX:10-12
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.34	1793	pf.or H.+fl.or vln.+vc.	Bland	P.IX:24-26
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.37	1795	pf.or H.+fl.or vln.+vc.	Bland	P.IX:28-30
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.41	1796	pf.or H.+fl.or vln.+vc.	Linley	P.IX:34-36
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.43	1799	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	Birchall	P.IX:37-39
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.48	1800	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	Birchall	P.IX:46-48
Kozeluch	3 sons.op.49	1798	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	Birchall	P.IX:49-51
Kozeluch	6 sons.op.?	1797	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	Preston	P.IX:40-45
Krumpholtz	2 sons.op.?	c.1795	Harp of pf.+vln.+vc.	?	
Mazzinghi	2 sons.op.39	c.1798	pf.+fl.or vln.+vc.	Goulding,Phipps & D'Almaine	
Pichl	3 sons.op.26	1796	pf.+fl.or vln.+vc.	Linley	
Pleyel	3 sons.op.23	1791	pf.or H.+vln.±vc.	Birchall	Ben.440-442
Pleyel	3 sons.op.?	1794?	pf.+vln.+vc.	B&W	Ben.443-445
Pleyel	3 sons.op.?	1794	pf.+vln.+vc.	Preston	Ben.446-448

Table 1 (continued)

Composer	Work	Date	Instrumentation	Publisher	Remarks
Pleyel	12 sons.op.14	1794-1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	Longman,Clementi	Ben.449-460
Pleyel	1 son. op.29	c.1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	Ben.461
Pleyel	3 sons.op.?	1796	pf.+vln.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	Ben.462-464
Pleyel	9 sons.op.31	1797	pf.+vln.+vc.	Corri,Dussek	Ben.465-473
Radiger	2 sons.op.5	c.1797	pf.or H.±vln.±vc.	L&B	
Seybold	3 sons.op.10	c.1795	Harp or pf.+vln.+vc.	Author	
Sterkel	3 sons.op.30	c.1795	H. or pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Sterkel	3 sons.op.32	c.1795	H. or pf.+vln.+vc.	L&B	
Tomich	1 son. op.?	c.1795	pf.+vln.+vc.	Author	
Tomich	3 sons.op.1	c.1795	pf.or H.+vln.+vc.	L&B	

Birchall=Robert Birchall
B&W=Bland and Weller
Dale=J. Dale
H.=harpsichord
Linley=F. Linley
L&B=Longman and Broderip
Preston=Preston and Son.

CHAPTER III

THE PROLIFIC COMPOSERS

The six composers discussed in this chapter, Haydn, Clementi, Cramer, Gyrowetz, Kozeluch, and Pleyel, are grouped together because they are by far the largest producers of accompanied sonatas for piano, violin, and cello encountered in this study of twenty-one composers: of a total of 173 works, these six composers account for 126, or approximately 73 per cent. Besides being prolific composers, these six men have in common the fact that, with the exception of Leopold Kozeluch, all were present and active in London between 1791 and 1800. In the year 1792, in fact, all but Kozeluch were in London at the same time, as is shown by Haydn's list of musicians in London that he included in the first of his London notebooks (see chapter one, pp. 6-7).

It seems certain that these six composers knew each other; indeed, relationships among them have been documented in most cases. The relationship between some of these musicians was that of teacher and student: Pleyel, for example, was a student of Haydn, and Cramer studied with Clementi. Although Kozeluch did not work in London during the time period covered by this study, it is still likely

that the remaining five composers knew him during this period because they had all visited his home city, Vienna, during the 1780's.[1]

While the composers discussed in this chapter had much in common, they also differed in some important respects. Geographically, these men came from a variety of locations: Haydn and Pleyel, from Austria; Gyrowetz and Kozeluch, from Bohemia; Cramer, from Germany; and Clementi, from Italy. More importantly, the composers included in this chapter were at different stages in their careers during the time covered by this study. In 1792, for example, Haydn was a mature 60, while Cramer and Gyrowetz were young at 21 and 29, respectively, Pleyel was 35 and Clementi and Kozeluch were both 40.

Haydn, Franz Joseph (1732-1809)

Because Haydn is the most important composer of this group, it is appropriate to begin this discussion of composers and their works with him. In many respects,

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[1]Eva Badura-Skoda, in "Clementi's 'Musical Characteristics' opus 19," Studies in Eighteenth Century Music edited by H. C. Robbins Landon and Roger E. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1970): 53-67 gives evidence that Clementi first met Haydn and Kozeluch in Vienna around 1781 and that Clementi taught piano to Kozeluch's daughter at this time.

Haydn is the central figure of this group. His was the style most frequently imitated. In fact, Charles Burney, in his General History of Music, considered it worthy of note when a composer didn't imitate Haydn.[2] The composer Adalbert Gyrowetz acknowledged in his autobiography that his style was founded on the symphonies of Haydn.[3] Considering the influence Haydn had on this school, then, it is curious that his approach to the piano trio was so different from that of the other five composers.

While all of the composers discussed in this chapter wrote accompanied sonatas, that is, sonatas with a predominant keyboard part and less important string parts, Haydn alone seems to have regarded this genre as a suitable vehicle for important music. William Newman has observed:

> After Mozart the first-rank composers (e.g., Beethoven and Schubert) no longer wrote the type of optional accompaniments that amateurs could play. Other composers continued to give the accompanied clavier sonata a high place in quantity but certainly not in quality among their works. No work in this genre by Wölfl, for example, compares with his excellent solo piano sonata Op.25 (c.1805); or by Hummel with his

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[2]Charles Burney, A General History of Music, with critical and historical notes by Charles Mercer, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935). In vol. 2, p. 960 Burney praises Leopold Kozeluch by saying: ". . . the imitations of Haydn are less than in any other master of that school."

[3]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 63.

> Op.81 (1819); or Dussek with his Op.70 (c.1810); or Clementi with his Op.50, No.3 (c.1821).[4]

While Haydn's works which were written after Mozart resemble the works Newman mentions externally, the greater importance Haydn placed on the accompanied sonata is evident in his use of several advanced compositional techniques in these works. These techniques include the use of third-related keys, complex enharmonic modulations and hybrid forms, as discussed in the following chapters. H. C. Robbins Landon has observed that Haydn's approach to the piano trio may seem old fashioned, especially in his writing for the violin and cello, but that:

> Once we have rid ourselves of this initial prejudice, it will be seen by any sensitive student of the period that Haydn's late piano trios are magnificent works that in many respects go further than the late symphonies: in the exploration of third related keys, something Haydn could on the one hand pursue in large operatic finales for Esterhaza such as in Acts I and II of La fedelta permiata, and on the other in intimate chamber music such as these piano trios.[5]

The piano trio seems to have taken on a new importance to Haydn in the 1790's, a fact which is observed by an increase in both the quality and the quantity of these works during this period. Karl Geiringer has pointed out

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[4]Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," p. 342.

[5]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 411.

in his biography of Haydn that Haydn's piano trios "changed during his last creative period from an inferior type of composition treated in an offhand manner to a carefully elaborated form."[6] In quantitative terms, Haydn wrote at least 19 piano trios during the 1790's, more than 60 per cent of the works included in most modern editions of the trios. The reasons for Haydn's greater interest in this form are worthy of closer examination.

One reason Haydn concentrated on the piano trio during the 1790's may be that while he was in London he became excited by the possibilities he saw in a new type of piano being built there which was superior to the pianos he knew in Vienna. The Viennese piano is described by William Newman as:

> wing shaped, about 7 feet long, narrow in width and its compass of about 5½ octaves, equipped with a very light action, thin wire strings, and leather covered hammers, and characterized by 'a clear singing tone, sonorous and vibrant in the bass and silvery in the middle and upper octaves.'[7]

In comparison, the English piano was fuller in tone and heavier in action. English pianos also included such advances as a range which often was extended up to a''' or even higher, a sopra una corda pedal which worked

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[6]Geiringer, Haydn, p. 343.

[7]Newman, Classic, p. 86.

according to the modern principle, and the English Grand Pianoforte action patented by Robert Stodart in 1777 and first used in a Broadwood piano of 1784.[8] Haydn was so attracted by the English piano that he took a Longman and Broderip piano back with him from England in 1795.[9]

Haydn was not the only composer whose style was affected by advances in piano technology in England. The composer and virtuoso Muzio Clementi acknowledged in 1806 that his approach to the piano had changed considerably as a result of advances in English piano building.[10]

The work of Clementi was another factor which probably influenced Haydn's increased interest in writing for the piano. Clementi pioneered a new style of piano playing and writing which was characterized by the use of brilliant special effects, especially the use of fast scales in parallel thirds, sixths, and octaves. Clementi's work had a pronounced effect not only on Haydn but also on Beethoven and other pianists in the early nineteenth century.[11]

[8]Plantinga, Clementi, p. 296, note 15.

[9]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 415.

[10]Plantinga, Clementi, p. 290-291.

[11]Ibid., p. 292. Clementi's influence on Beethoven is discussed in Alexander Ringer, "Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School," The Musical Quarterly 61 (1970): 742-758.

An important reason for Haydn's writing of accompanied sonatas, and one which, perhaps more than any other explains why the other composers considered in this chapter wrote so many as well, is that it was simply more profitable than writing solo piano sonatas. In the 1780's, for example, it is known that Haydn established a ratio of fees charged for his compositions at approximately 6:6:5:4 for symphonies, string quartets, piano trios and solo piano sonatas, respectively.[12]

The Breitkopf and Härtel Oeuvre Complettes of Haydn's works, which was compiled between 1800 and 1805 under Haydn's supervision, lists 31 piano trios, a number which is also used in the modern editions by both Breitkopf and Härtel and Peters. More recent research, however, for Anthony van Hoboken's Thematisch-Bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, Gruppe XV and for the Doblinger edition of the piano trios edited by Robbins Landon indicates that the total number of Haydn trios is either 41 or 45 respectively. The biggest discrepancies between these sources concerns a number of early works, Hob.XV:33-41[13] and

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[12]Newman, Classic, p. 76.

[13]Alfred Peter Brown, "The Solo and Ensemble Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: A Study of Structure and Style" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1970), p. 50-51.

Landon 1-16[14] which were not published in London during the time period covered by this study.

One work which was published in London for the first time between 1790 and 1800 but is not included in the modern editions by Breitkipf and Härtel and Peters is Hob.XV:32. This work was thought for a long time to be a sonata for violin and piano (in fact, the only such work by Haydn known to be extant) until 1957, when a 1794 London edition of this work as a piano trio was discovered by Hoboken.[15]

Even some of the 31 works in the Breitkopf and Härtel Oeuvre Complettes are subject to question. Of these, two works, XV:3 and 4, are probably not by Haydn, as pointed out in chapter two. Haydn himself is reported to have acknowledged in 1803 that these trios were written by his brother Michael. Recent research has produced strong evidence which indicates that these works were actually written by Ignaz Pleyel.[16] In addition to these

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[14]Harold L. Andrews, review of the Complete Edition of Haydn's Piano Trios, edited by H.C. Robbins Landon, in Music Library Association Notes 28 (1972): 768.

[15]Alan Tyson, "New Light on a Haydn Trio (XV:32)," The Haydn Yearbook 1 (1962): 203.

[16]Alan Tyson, "Haydn and Two Stolen Trios," The Music Review 22 (1961): 21-27.

two works, another trio, XV:2, has been found to be an arrangement of another work, XIV:2 (from Hoboken's Gruppe XIV, accompanied divertimenti) originally for larger ensemble.[17]

Fourteen of the remaining authentic works had first London publications between 1791 and 1800: XV:32 and XV:18-30. Of these, no copy is extant of the London edition of one work, XV:30. It is known that Haydn sent the manuscript of this trio to the publishers Artaria in Vienna, Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig, and Corri, Dussek and Co. in London in 1796 and that it was published by Artaria in 1797 and by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1798. A copy of this work by Corri, Dussek is reported to have been seen by Alan Tyson in a London music shop but this copy has since disappeared.[18]

The Appendix provides a list of the piano trios of Haydn first published in London between 1791 and 1800, with datings and publication data from selected sources.

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[17]Tyson, "New Light on a Haydn Trio," p. 205.

[18]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 114.

Clementi, Muzio (1752-1832)

The second most important composer discussed in this chapter is Muzio Clementi. Clementi was an unusually versatile individual who, like his colleagues J.B. Cramer and Ignaz Pleyel, was able to achieve success as a performer, composer, and businessman. Unlike Cramer and Pleyel, however, Clementi's music is important enough that, as William Newman puts it, he is "the man most nearly entitled to stand alongside Haydn and Mozart among Beethoven's immediate predecessors."[19]

Clementi was a child prodigy who was taken from his native Rome to live in England by an English gentleman and Member of Parliament named Peter Beckford. Beckford is said to have been so impressed by young Clementi's talent that he convinced the boy's parents that he should be taken to England where his ability might be properly developed.[20] It appears, however, that Beckford actually made little attempt to further Clementi's

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[19]Newman, Classic, p. 738.

[20]Eric Blom, ed., Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., 10 vols. (London: MacMillan and Co., 1961; reprint ed. New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1970), s.v. "Clementi, Muzio" (hereafter cited as Grove's).

education but rather acquired the latter's indentured servitude for seven years in order to provide inexpensive musical entertainment for the Beckford estate, which was in Dorset, southwest of London.[21] Because there is no record of Beckford's ever having provided a teacher for his talented servant, it appears that Clementi was self taught from the time he came to England.[22] It is not known exactly when Clementi left the Beckford estate. The date 1773 is often given because this would be the year his seven year indenture would have been completed. Clementi apparently went to London after leaving Beckford, and it is known that he conducted opera at the King's Theater in the late 1770's.[23]

During the 1780's Clementi made two extensive tours of Europe and established the reputation as a piano virtuoso for which he is remembered today. As mentioned above, Clementi was the originator of an influential style of piano writing in the late eighteenth century. Beethoven is known to have had in his library nearly all of Clementi's sonatas and, as Schindler reports, he considered them "the most beautiful, the most pianistic of

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[21] Plantinga, Clementi, p. 4-5.

[22] Ibid., p. 7.

[23] Ibid., p. 36.

works."[24]

Clementi was not universally appreciated by his contemporaries, however, especially Mozart. Mozart wrote to his sister concerning Clementi's sonatas on June 7, 1783:

> Everyone who either hears them or plays them must feel that as compositions they are worthless. They contain no remarkable or striking passages except those in sixths and octaves . . . Supposing that you do play sixths and octaves with the utmost velocity (which no one can accomplish, not even Clementi) you only produce an atrocious chopping effect and nothing else whatever. Clementi is a cirlatano, like all Italians . . . he has not the slightest expression or taste, still less, feeling.[25]

As harsh and overstated as it is, Mozart's criticism of Clementi's sonatas, which dates from 1783, probably comes closer to the modern day view of his early works than does Beethoven's. Clementi himself admitted to his student Ludwig Berger in 1806 that his early works were perhaps marred by an over-emphasis on technical brilliance to the exclusion of profundity.[26]

In the 1790's Clementi began his career as a music

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[24]Anton Felix Schindler, Beethoven As I Knew Him, edited by Donald W. MacArdle and trans. by Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 379 (hereafter cited as Schindler, Beethoven).

[25]Anderson, The Letters of Mozart, vol. 2, p. 850.

[26]Plantinga, Clementi, p. 65.

publisher and instrument maker. Clementi is said to have invested a considerable amount of money in the London publishing and instrument building firm of Longman and Broderip, which declared bankruptcy in 1798. In order to protect his investment Clementi was obliged to enter into a partnership with John Longman of the above named company. Clementi's company was quite successful, remaining in business under a variety of names until his retirement in 1830.[27]

Twelve sonatas for piano, violin, and cello are known to have been written by Clementi. These are as follows:

Op.27 Three sonatas for pianoforte or harpsichord with accompaniments for violin and cello, 1791.

Op.28 Three sonatas for pianoforte or harpsichord with accompaniments for violin and cello, 1792.

Op.29 Three sonatas for pianoforte with accompaniments for violin and cello, 1793.

Op.35 Three sonatas for pianoforte with accompaniments for violin and cello ad libitum, 1796.[28]

It is interesting to note that all of Clementi's extant sonatas for piano, violin and cello were written

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[27]Ibid., p. 248.

[28]Alan Tyson, Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Muzio Clementi (Tutzig: Hans Schneider, 1967), pp. 65-71.

around the time that Haydn was in London and writing such works himself. Whether Haydn influenced Clementi's choice of instrumentation or not, his influence is not seen in the quality of these works, which are generally thought to be inferior to the solo sonatas of the same period. Plantinga has written:

> To indulge in a slight oversimplification, we might say that the accompanied sonatas are almost uniformly old fashioned and tedious, the solo piano music enormously varied in style--some of it astonishingly powerful.[29]

Cramer, Johann Baptiste (1771-1858)

Cramer was a versatile individual like Clementi, his teacher, and was successful as a performer, composer, and businessman. Cramer is also similar to Clementi in that he was brought to England when he was young and remained there, aside from several extended trips to Europe, all his life.

Johann's father Wilhelm was a prominent violinist and conductor in Mannheim who moved to London with his young son in either 1772 or 1774.[30] The younger Cramer

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[29]Plantinga, Clementi, p. 126.

[30]The date 1772 is given in Grove's s.v. "Cramer, Johann Baptiste" by E. Dannreuther while the date 1774 is

studied with several teachers, the most celebrated among them being Clementi, with whom he studied piano in 1783.[31] Later in his life Cramer played down his study with Clementi, which Sainsbury indicates lasted "for the short term of one year."[32] Relations between the two composers became strained, apparently as the result of a dispute concerning Cramer's alleged plagiarism of certain works by Clementi.[33]

In the 1780's Cramer began the first of his several extended concert tours of Europe. Schindler reports that on one of these tours Cramer spent the entire winter of 1799-1800 in Vienna and got to know Beethoven very well.[34] Cramer's playing was much admired by Beethoven. Ferdinand Ries (1755-1846, a piano student and biographer of Beethoven) wrote that "amongst the pianoforte players

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given in Friedrich Blume, ed. Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 12 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag. 1949-1973), s.v. "Cramer, Johann Baptiste" by Willi Kahl (hereafter cited as MGG).

[31]Willibald Gurlitt, ed. Riemann Musik Lexikon, 12th ed., 3 vols. (Mainz: B. Schott, 1959, 1961, 1967), s.v. "Cramer, Johann Baptiste" (hereafter cited as Riemann Lexikon).

[32]John S. Sainsbury, A Dictionary of Musicians From the Earliest Times, 2 vols. (London, 1825; New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), vol. 1, p. 181.

[33]Alan Tyson, "A Feud Between Clementi and Cramer," Music and Letters 54 (1973): 281-288.

[34]Schindler, Beethoven, p. 120.

Beethoven had praise for but one as being distinguished--Johann Cramer, all others were but little to him."[35] Beethoven was especially impressed by two volumes of Cramer's etudes and wanted to use these in a piano method he planned to write.[36]

Cramer was also known and respected by Haydn. Sainsbury wrote that upon Cramer's return to London in 1791 from his first concert tour he met Haydn and that the latter "had evinced great partiality for him."[37]

Although he was thought well of by other composers, especially Beethoven, Cramer was apparently less than generous in the praise of his colleagues. In a letter to Johann Peter Saloman of June 1, 1815, Beethoven wrote:

> By the way, I have heard that Cramer is also a publisher. But Ries, my former pupil, wrote to me a short time ago that Cramer had spoken in public against my compositions, for no other reason, I trust, than from a desire to promote the art of music.[38]

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[35]Elliot Forbes, ed., Thayer's Life of Beethoven, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), vol. 2, p. 209.

[36]Schindler, Beethoven, p. 379.

[37]Sainsbury, A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times, vol. 1, p. 182.

[38]Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., The Letters of Beethoven, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), vol. 2, p. 512.

The picture of Cramer which emerges is that of an arrogant and possibly somewhat self-promoting individual. At least one modern scholar has suggested that Cramer's attitude as revealed here may have been at the heart of the dispute he is said to have had with Clementi.[39]

The letter of Beethoven quoted above also provides the important information that Cramer was a music publisher in 1815. Several sources agree that Cramer entered into a partnership with R. Addison and T. F. Beale in 1824 to form J. B. Cramer and Company, a publishing firm of which Cramer was director until 1842 and which remains in business today.[40] Anderson adds as a footnote to Beethoven's letter (quoted above) that Cramer began publishing music in 1805, although the source of this information is not given.[41]

Cramer's complete works include approximately 120 piano sonatas, 65 per cent of which are for solo piano while the remainder are provided with accompaniments for other instruments,[42] 7 piano concertos, numerous small

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[39]Jerald C. Graue, "The Clementi-Cramer Dispute Revisited," Music and Letters 56 (1975): 47-54.

[40]Riemann Lexikon, vol. 1, p. 349.

[41]Anderson, The Letters of Beethoven, vol. 2, p. 512.

[42]Nicolas Slonimsky, ed. Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, 6th ed. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1978), p. 359.

pieces for the piano, and a piano method, the Grosse praktische Pianoforte Schule op.50, of 1815. Cramer's piano method contains a group of 84 etudes which were republished as op.87 and are the only works of Cramer which are remembered today.[43]

Sainsbury includes a list of Cramer's works which may have been compiled under Cramer's supervision.[44] The complete works up to ca.1800 are as follows: (the editorial remarks are Sainsbury's)

Op.1 "Three Sonatas."
Op.2 "Three Sonatas."
Op.3 "Three Sonatas, with Accompaniments," (easy.)
Op.4 "Three Grande Sonatas," Paris.
Op.5 "Three Sonatas," (easy.) Paris.
Op.6 "Four Grand Sonatas," Paris.
Op.7 "Three Grand Sonatas," dedicated to Muzio Clementi.
Op.8 "Two Sonatas."
Op.9 "Three Sonatas with Accompaniments."
Op.10 "Concerto, with Orchestral Accompaniments."
Op.11 "Three Sonatas."
Op.12 "Three Sonatas, with popular Airs."
Op.13 "Three Sonatinas."
Op.14 "Three Sonatas." (easy.)
Op.15 "Three Sonatas." (easy.)
Op.16 "Concerto, with Orchestral Accompaniments."
Op.17 "Marches and Waltzes."
Op.18 "Three Sonatas with Accompaniments."
Op.19 "Three Sonatas."[45]

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[43]William Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, p. 561.

[44]Ibid., p. 561.

[45]Sainsbury, A Dictionary of Musicians From the Earliest Times, vol. 1, p. 183.

It is noteworthy that Sainsbury apparently considered the accompaniments to several of these sonatas, i.e., opp.11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, to be so insignificant that he did not mention them. Another explanation, that Sainsbury knew these works in other editions as solo sonatas, is possible, although no record of any other editions exists. The Appendix provides a list of Cramer's sonatas for piano, violin, and cello published in London for the first time between 1791 and 1800.

Cramer's music, like that of many of the composers included in this study, was much more highly esteemed in his own time than even a short time later. Sainsbury, writing in 1825, gave what he apparently considered to be high praise to Cramer saying "Seldom, indeed, it is that we meet with a weak, insipid or coarse passage in his writings."[46] Only 70 years after Sainsbury, in 1895, Shedlock regarded Cramer as a mere "sonata maker" and said that the least important sonatas of Dussek were masterpieces beside Cramer's works.[47] A modern perspective of Cramer's music is offered by William Newman who, while calling attention to melodic deficiencies in Cramer's works, never-

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[46]Ibid.

[47]John S. Shedlock, The Pianoforte Sonata (London: Methuen, 1895; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo, 1964), p.

theless concludes that:

> Cramer's sonatas are at their best in the skill at which he excelled right from the start and for which alone, as with Czerny, he is still remembered today. That skill is the writing of ingenious, cleanly scored, euphonious passagework such as is well known to pianists who play his etudes. In a sense, the passagework is more progressive than the changes noted in Cramer's last sonatas. It not only paves one way to the piano virtuosity of the 19th century but in its opened position, arpeggiando dispositions it supplants the Alberti, murky, and related basses of the Classic Era with fuller, more liquescent accompaniments and textures such as might grace a lyrical piece by Schumann.[48]

Gyrowetz, Adalbert (1763-1850)

Gyrowetz and the two remaining composers in this chapter, Leopold Kozeluch and Ignaz Pleyel, have been included by William Newman in his discussion of a group of Austrian and German composers of the late eighteenth century which he calls the Kleinmeister.

> The Kleinmeister were characteristically those who made their best efforts at first, thereafter honoring art less and less as they made increasing concessions to popular demand and to the ease of writing by formulas.[49]

During the late eighteenth century Gyrowetz, Kozeluch, and

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[48] Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, p. 562.

[49] Newman, Classic, p. 544.

Pleyel were extremely popular composers, although their popularity declined rapidly in the first decades of the following century. Newman continues:

> It is to the credit of the contemporary reviewers that usually and eventually they became aware of these concessions and formulas on the part of the Vielschreiber. We may laugh today at the inability of some reviewers to keep pace with such an original, forceful genius as Beethoven. But they rarely failed to see through a deteriorating Kleinmeister before he had done his last publishing.[50]

Gyrowetz's decline seems to have come quite suddenly. In his autobiography, which was published in 1848, Gyrowetz described himself as a popular composer in 1820, but by 1826 he wrote that he was "poor and forgotten."[51]

Gyrowetz is said to have shown a talent for music early in his life. After studying violin and organ as a young man, however, he chose to begin the study of law in Prague rather than pursue a career in music.[52]

Gyrowetz's legal studies were cut short by a long illness which, having depleted him physically and financially, forced him to leave school and find employment. The position which Gyrowetz accepted was that of private secretary to a nobleman, Count Franz von Fünfkirche. The

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[50]Ibid., p. 545.

[51]MGG, s.v. "Gyrowetz, Adalbert," by H. C. Robbins Landon.

[52]Ibid.

Count required that all his servants also be skilled musicians and perform in his household orchestra. As a result, Gyrowetz was able to gain valuable musical experience and to have his own compositions performed by this orchestra.[53]

After leaving his position with Count Fünfkirche, Gyrowetz first went to Vienna, where he was aided in his musical career by Mozart, who had some of Gyrowetz's works performed in concerts which he sponsored. He also went to Italy, where he studied composition and supported himself by selling some of his music, and to Paris, where he discovered that a symphony of his had already been published under Haydn's name and was quite popular. Gyrowetz wrote in his autobiography that few at first believed that he was, in fact, the composer of this symphony but that, once his claim to the work was established, he was able to raise considerably the amount he charged for his compositions.[54]

Gyrowetz lived in London from October, 1789, when he was forced to leave Paris because of the Revolution, until November of 1792. It is apparent from concert programs of this era, especially those of the concerts which Salomon organized, that Gyrowetz was quite successful in having his works performed in London. Reviews of these

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[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

concerts in London newspapers also reveal that his orchestral works were very well received, even though only a few years later, in 1796, London critics took almost the opposite view.[55]

Gyrowetz did not always meet with good fortune in London. He was commissioned to write an opera Semiramis which was to have been performed in 1792 at the Pantheon Theater. Unfortunately, this theater, along with the score to Gyrowetz's opera, was destroyed by fire before the performance.

Gyrowetz left London in November of 1792 because, as he described in his autobiography, the climate there was bad for his health.[56] He then traveled across Europe to Vienna where he remained until his death.

Gyrowetz's popularity declined rapidly in the early 19th century. This is particularly true of his instrumental music, very little of which was written after 1804, although he continued to write successful ballets and operas until after 1820. The tragedy of Gyrowetz's life is that he, too, realized the insignificant role of his creative efforts in

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[55]Programs of Salomon's concerts of 1791 and 1792 which contain works by Gyrowetz are listed in Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, pp. 62-172. Favorable reviews of these works on pp. 86, 136, 143, 149, 156, and 173 may be contrasted with the unfavorable review on p. 64 from 1796.

[56]MGG, s.v. "Gyrowetz, Adalbert."

the history of music. In 1846 Gyrowetz remarked to Ludwig August Frankel, the publisher of his autobiography:

> I live poor and forgotten. And naturally: I was just a talent . . . and only genius lives past the grave. It is a unique feeling to live and to know that one is intellectually dead.[57]

Gyrowetz is known to have written 40 accompanied sonatas for piano, violin, and cello in addition to a number of works for this instrumentation which are entitled either "divertimento" or "nottourno" and are, because of these titles, not included in this study. A complete list of Gyrowetz's known sonatas for piano, violin, and cello which were published in London between 1791 and 1800 is given in the Appendix.

The problem of conflicting opus numbers is apparent in the information supplied in the Appendix. It is noteworthy that the same publisher, Longman and Broderip, appears to have published the same three sonatas of Gyrowetz (in G, B-flat, and E-flat) under two different opus numbers (op.18 of 1796 and op.22 of 1798). Until a thematic index of the works of Gyrowetz is compiled, it will be impossible to solve some of the problems of conflicting

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[57]Translated from MGG, s.v. "Gyrowetz, Adalbert." The German text reads: "Ich lebe arm und vergessen. Und das ist natürlich, ich war nur ein Talent . . . nur das Genie lebt über das Grab hinaus. Es ist doch ein eigentümliches Gefühl, zu leben und zu wissen, dass man geistig gestorben ist."

opus numbers encountered in this study.

Assuming that Longman and Broderip's opp.18 and 22 are identical, sixteen works by Gyrowetz meet the criteria for inclusion into this study (the opus numbers given are those assigned by London publishers): opp.9, 14, 18, 20, and 23, each containing three sonatas, and one other work published separately as op.15 by Longman and Broderip.

Kozeluch, Leopold Anton (1752-1818)

Kozeluch was similar to his younger contemporary, Gyrowetz, in several ways: both were Bohemian, both were educated in Prague, and both were very popular composers during the late eighteenth century. As in the case of Gyrowetz, Kozeluch's popularity declined rapidly in the early nineteenth century although, unlike his countryman, Kozeluch died in 1818 instead of living on for many years as a forgotten composer.[58]

Kozeluch studied with several teachers as a young man in Prague, among them his cousin Jan Antonin Kozeluch (1738-1814), and Frantisek Xaver Dusek (1731-1799), both of

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[58]As William Newman points out, although there are 20 entries on Kozeluch in the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung between 1798 and 1808, there is only one in the ten years after that: his death notice. Newman, Classic, p. 557, note 70.

whom were well known composers in the late eighteenth century. Leopold Kozeluch achieved success as a composer early in his career, composing 25 ballets for performance in Prague at the National Theater between 1771 and 1777.[59]

Having established a reputation in Prague, Kozeluch moved to Vienna in 1778, where he became the piano teacher of the Archduchess Elizabeth and a favorite teacher of the aristocracy. Kozeluch was very successful in Vienna, remaining there for several years until he assumed his last position in Prague in 1792.[60]

One reason for Kozeluch's success with the Viennese aristocracy may be that he was "of higher social station himself, although his social position as well as his attitude toward himself did nothing to endear him to other musicians of this era.[61] Beethoven, for example, appears to have regarded Kozeluch with what can only be described as loathing. In a letter of February 29, 1812, to the publisher George Thomson, Beethoven was able to describe

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[59] Grove's Dictionary, s.v. "Kozeluch, Leopold Anton," by Franz Gehring and Gracian Cernusak.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

Kozeluch with one word: "Miserabilis."[62] Thomson himself appears to have had no great love of Kozeluch, calling him a "biped without feathers" in his correspondence and remarking that, when Kozeluch was asked to make certain changes in some manuscripts he had sent Thomson for publication, he refused, claiming that the works were already perfect.[63]

In 1792 Kozeluch accepted the position as Court Composer to the Emperor in Prague which was left vacant by Mozart's death in the previous year. Kozeluch retained this position, at a higher salary than Mozart had received, until his death in 1818.[64]

As mentioned above, Kozeluch's works were very popular in the late eighteenth century. In his General History of Music Burney calls Kozeluch "An admirable young composer" and says about his works that "they are generally excellent, abounding with solidity, good taste, correct

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[62]The French text of Beethoven's letter as quoted in Anderson, The Letters of Beethoven, vol. 1, p. 361 reads:

> Quant à monsieur Kozeluch, qui vous livre chaque chanson avec accompagnement pour 2 ducats je vous felicite beaucoup et aussi aux editeurs anglois et ecossois quand ils en goûtent. Moi je m'estime encoure une fois plus superiéur en ce gendre que monsieur Kozeluch (:Miserabilis:) et j'espère croyant que vous possedez quelque distinction, laquelle vous mette en état de me rendre justice.

[63]Landon, Haydn, vol. 4, pp. 495-496.

[64]Grove's, s.v. "Kozeluch, Leopold."

harmony; and the imitations of Haydn are less frequent than in any other master of that school."[65]

William Newman has said of Kozeluch's sonatas that they are:

> models of Classic perfection in form, line and fluency. No skill is lacking, not even that of true "development" . . . In fact, Kozeluch's writing might indeed be called the ideal of the high-Classic style, provided one limits the word classic to mean a perfect balance and co-ordination of the means and a "moderation in all things" . . . . But the music flows on essentially untroubled by deeper feelings and with no obstacles for the ready sightreader. In these respects it suggests Mendelssohn's music, or at least all but the greatest of his music. And it must be in these respects that Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven were all contemptuous of Kozeluch, for the Classic ideal in the music of those masters is hardly restricted just to the perfect control and balance of the means.[66]

Kozeluch is known to have written 58 accompanied sonatas for piano, violin, and cello. These works are listed in Milam Postolka's thematic catalogue of Kozeluch's works (Prague, 1964) Gruppe IX, numbers 1-18 and 24-63. In addition there are 5 works (Postolka IX:19-23) which have been found to be arrangements for piano trio of earlier works by Kozeluch for string quartet.[67] Of the 58 works

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[65]Burney, A General History of Music, vol. 2, p. 960.

[66]Newman, Classic, pp. 557-558.

[67]Repertoire international des sources musicales, series A, s.v. "Kozeluch, Leopold Anton," by Milan Postolka.

originally written for piano trio, 29 were first published in London during the time period covered by this study as shown in table 1.

Pleyel, Ignaz Joseph (1757-1831)

Pleyel came from a humble background, being the twenty-fourth of thirty-eight children of a poor family in lower Austria.[68] Because of the generosity of a noble patron, Count Ladislas Erdödy, Pleyel was able to have what may well have been the best musical education then available in Austria: five years of study from ca.1774 to 1779 with Haydn at Esterhaza.[69]

Pleyel left his position with Count Erdödy to study in Italy. He supported himself, as had Haydn and Gyrowetz, by composing lira music for the King of Naples. In 1783 Pleyel became Kapellmeister at the cathedral in Strasbourg, where he remained until he joined the Professional Concert in 1791. Pleyel went to Paris after the Professional Concert went out of business and established his own music publishing business there in 1795 and the piano building firm for which he is remembered today, in 1807.[70]

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[68] Grove's, s.v. "Pleyel, Ignaz," by Frank Kidson.

[69] Geiringer, Haydn, p. 73.

[70] Grove's, s.v. "Pleyel, Ignaz."

Most of Pleyel's activity as a composer dates from before he began his business career in 1795. Even before this date, however, his popularity as a composer was declining. Pleyel's decline as a composer must have been even faster than that of the other two Kleinmeister discussed above. Mozart's letter to his father, quoted in chapter one, indicates that as late as 1784 Pleyel was worthy of being considered as a possible successor to Haydn. Only a few years later, however, in 1789, Charles Burney wrote in the fourth volume of his General History of Music:

> At present Rosetti, Mozart, and Pleyel share with them the public favor; indeed there has lately been a rage for the Music of Pleyel, which has diminished the attention of amateurs and the public to other violin Music. But whether this ingenious and engaging composer does not draw faster from the fountain of his invention than it will long bear, and whether his imitations of Haydn and too frequent use of semitones, and coquetry in ralentandos and pauses will not be soon construed into affectation I know not; but it has already been remarked by critical observers, that his fancy, though at first so fertile, is not so inexhaustible, but that he frequently repeats himself, and does not sufficiently disdain the mixture of common passages with his own elegant ideas.[71]

A total of fourty-nine sonatas for piano, violin, and cello have been identified by Rita Benton.[72] Two sonatas, Ben.428 and 429, are the trios which were once thought to have been written by Haydn, Hob.XV:3 and 4. A third sonata, to which Benton has assigned the number Ben.

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[71]Burney, General History of Music, vol. 2, pp. 951-952.

[72]RISM, s.v. "Pleyel, Ignace," by Rita Benton.

430, was published under Haydn's name with these two trios. This trio has been counted among the authentic Haydn works as Hob.XV:5.

CHAPTER IV

SOME LESSER FIGURES

The fourteen composers discussed in this chapter are considered to be "lesser figures" not because of their historical importance but because of their small contributions to the literature of the piano trio in London during the 1790's. A few of these composers actually produced substantial numbers of accompanied sonatas for piano, violin, and cello, of which only a few were published in the time and place necessary to be considered in this study. Two of the composers discussed below, Jan Ladislav Dussek and Johann Nepomuk Hummel, are among the most prominent names encountered in this study. Several others, however, are so obscure that practically no information is known about them.

All but four of the fourteen composers are believed to have lived in London during the 1790's. Haydn's list of musicians who were active in London (chapter 1, pp. 6-7) includes the names of only four of the composers who are thought to have been there: J. L. Dussek, J. N. Hummel, Joseph Mazzinghi, and Francisco Tomich. The other six

composers either arrived in London after Haydn compiled his list (as is known to be the case with G. G. Ferrari), or were so obscure that they were overlooked by Haydn. It is acknowledged that too little biographical information is known about some of the composers to ascertain beyond question their whereabouts during the 1790's. The composers are presented alphabetically in this chapter.

Dussek, Jan Ladislav (1760-1812)[1]

Dussek is one of the best known composers in this chapter and is the subject of several important studies.[2] Dussek was born in Bohemia into a musical family. His

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[1]Although a variety of other spellings of this name are found, "Dussek" is the accepted English spelling. Prior to moving to England Dussek spelled his name "Dussik" but in England he changed the "i" in his name to "e" and pronounced it as if it were spelled "Duschek." Howard Allen Craw, "A Biography and Thematic Catalog of the Works of J. L. Dussek (1760-1812)," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1964), p. 11 note 1. (hereafter cited as Craw, Dussek)

[2]Craw, Dussek is the most important source of information on Dussek. Other studies include: Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, pp. 658-675, and Leo Schiffer, Johann Ladislaus Dussek (Leipzig: Borna, 1914, reprint ed. Da Capo Press, 1972).

father, Johann Joseph Dussek, was an organist and school teacher who, as is shown below, was apparently known and respected by Haydn.

The younger Dussek was educated at the University of Prague, which he entered in 1777. Contrary to most sources, Dussek appears to have received no degree at this university and, in fact, was there only one semester.[3]

Dussek was aided in establishing his career by a generous patron, as were so many other composers in this study. Dussek's benefactor, a certain Captain Männer of the Austrian Artillery, helped him re-locate in the Belgian city of Mechlin in 1778.[4] From Mechlin Dussek was able to establish himself as a virtuoso pianist in several important cities in the Netherlands between 1778 and 1781, especially Amsterdam and The Hague.

Dussek lived in or visited a variety of places during the 1780's after establishing his reputation in the Netherlands. Among the most important places Dussek lived are Hamburg, where he may have studied with C. P. E. Bach in 1782;[5] Lithuania, where he worked as a Kapellmeister in

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[3]Craw, Dussek, p. 21.

[4]Ibid., p. 23.

[5]Ibid., p. 28.

1783 and part of 1784;[6] Berlin, where he lived between 1784 and 1786, when not playing concerts in other German cities; and finally, Paris. The peripatetic Dussek remained in Paris from 1786 until 1789 except for one visit to Milan to see his brother.[7]

Dussek's arrival in Paris was noted by G. G. Ferrari (discussed below) in his book Anedotti piacevoli e interessanti occorsi nella Vita di Giacomo Gottifredo Ferrari da Roveredo (Interesting and Pleasant Anecdotes from the Life of Giacomo Gottifredo Ferrari of Roveredo), which was published in London in 1830:

> Three celebrated pianists, Hullmandel, Kuffner, and Adam had been in Paris for many years; and three other renouned Pianists arrived successively thereafter: Dussek; called le beau Dussek, the most amiable man in the world, always cheerful and joyous, never disturbed by affairs of any sort, a great performer with a natural and subtle genius for composition; Steibelt, a dissolute and reckless man, clear in writing, and full of taste, but incorrect and confusing in his playing. After him, J. B. Cramer, who surpassed all others by his manner of playing.[8]

In Paris, Dussek became a favorite of the aristocracy and especially of Marie Antoinette. Because of

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[6] In Francois-Joseph Fétis, Biographie universelle des musiciens s.v. "Dussek, Jan Ladislav" (hereafter cited as Fétis, Biographie) it is stated that Dussek worked in the service of Prince Karl Radziwill, while in Schiffer, Dussek, p. 8, Dussek is said to have worked for the Polish Prince Sopieha.

[7] Craw, Dussek, p. 42.

[8] Trans. in Craw, Dussek, p. 453.

his connections with the Paris aristocracy, Dussek felt particularly vulnerable in the unsettled times directly preceding the Revolution and, thus, was forced to leave Paris early in 1789 and move to London.[9]

Dussek stayed in London for eleven years, from 1789 until 1800, the longest period he lived in any one place during his adult life. Dussek's name figures prominently in the London concert programs of the 1790's, especially in Salomon's concert series of 1791, 1792, 1794, and 1796.[10] Curiously, Dussek did not perform in Salomon's concerts of 1793 but instead played in a concert organized by Salomon's rival, the Professional Concert, on February 18 of that year.[11]

In addition to his activities as a composer and performer, Dussek entered into the music publishing business while he was in London. At some time between 1792 and 1796 Dussek formed a partnership with Domenico Corri (1746-1825), his father-in-law, to form Corri, Dussek and Co.[12]

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[9] Grove's, s.v. "Dussek, Jan Ladislav."

[10] Programs of these concerts are found in Landon, Haydn, vols. 3 and 4.

[11] Announced in The Times (London), February 15, 1793.

[12] Craw, Dussek, p. 73.

Although Dussek's business prospered at first, by 1799 the business was in such financial condition that Dussek was forced to flee the country secretly and Corri was sent to prison.[13]

Dussek survived only twelve years after leaving England, living in a variety of cities in Europe between 1800 and 1807, and in Paris thereafter.

Dussek is known to have been well acquainted with several of the composers who are considered in this study, including Ferrari and Cramer, whom he met in Paris, and Haydn, Clementi,[14] and Gyrowetz,[15] whom he knew in London. Dussek and his father were both well thought of by Haydn. In a letter to Johann Joseph Dussek of February 26, 1792 Haydn wrote:

> I thank you with all my heart that you remembered me in your last letter to your son. I return the compliment with interest, and consider myself fortunate to be able to assure you that you have, in your son, a most honorable and polished man who is a distinguished musician.

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[13] Craw, Dussek, p. 104.

[14] Plantinga, Clementi, p. 166.

[15] Stanislas V. Klima, "Dussek in England," Music and Letters 41 (1960): 146-149. It is also known that Dussek performed in Gyrowetz's benefit concert, as announced in The Times (London) of February 9, 1792.

> I love him as dearly as I do you, and he well deserves it. If you give him a father's blessing, he will continue to be happy which--because of his great talents--I heartily wish him to be.[16]

Dussek's complete works include:

piano solo:	25 sonatas, 12 sonatinas, 23 rondos, 23 sets of variations, 3 fantasias, 1 fugue, and several pieces d' occasion
piano duet:	11 sonatas and 3 fugues
harp:	2 sonatas and 6 sonatinas
piano and harp or 2 pianos:	8 duos
piano and violin:	65 sonatas
piano and flute:	8 sonatas
chamber music:	24 piano trios, 1 piano quartet, 1 piano quintet, and 3 string quartets
vocal works:	12 songs, 7 canons, 1 cantata, 1 opera, and 1 mass
piano and orchestra:	17 concertos (1 for two pianos)
harp and orchestra:	4 concertos[17]

Six sonatas for piano, violin, and cello were published in London for the first time between 1791 and 1800. Three of these sonatas were published by Clementi and Co. ca.1795 and are numbered in Craw's thematic catalog as

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[16] Landon, CCLN, pp. 130-131.

[17] Craw, Dussek, p. 207.

Craw 132-134.[18] Another group of three sonatas is listed in the British Union Catalogue of Early Music as: "Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello . . . Op.20, Printed for the Author."[19] According to Craw, these last three sonatas were first published in Paris as sonatas for piano and violin. As a result, they are not included in his thematic catalog as piano trios. Because the first London publication of these works was in the form of a piano trio, they are included in this study.

One of the three sonatas published as op.20 was performed by Dussek on a public concert in 1793. The Times (London) of May 14, 1793, announced that a concert given by Dussek and his wife would include on the program: "New Sonata Piano-Forte with a Violin Obligato, by Mr. Dussek and Mr. Yaniewitz (the first of Opera 20, just published by the Author)." Because no cellist is listed on the program, it would appear that the composer himself considered the cello part to this work to be dispensable, as is the case with much of the music included in this study.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 286-289.

[19] British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 1, p. 302.

von Esch, Louis (?-?)

Little is known concerning one of the less significant composers discussed in this chapter, Louis von Esch. All that is known of Esch's early life is that he appeared in Paris near the end of the eighteenth century and, as Eitner reports, spelled his name "Vonesch."[20] According to Newman, Esch probably moved to London at the time of the French Revolution, as did several other composers discussed in this chapter.[21]

Newman has identified five sets of accompanied sonatas in piano trio setting which were published by Esch between 1781 and 1798: opp.1, 5, 9, 12, and 13.[22] The title page of op.12 indicates that it is "le premier publie en Angleterre," and therefore only the three sonatas of this opus and three additional sonatas of op.13 appear to have been published in London during the 1790's.

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[20]Robert Eitner, Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexicon der Musiker und Musikgeleherten, 10 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899-1904), s.v. "von Esch, Louis." (hereafter cited as Eitner, Quellenlexicon).

[21]Newman, Classic, p. 767.

[22]Ibid.

Ferrari, Giacomo Gottifredo (1763-1842)

Ferrari was one of the many Italians who worked in London during the 1790's, although he arrived in London after Haydn compiled his list of musicians active in London (chapter 1, pp. 6-7). Ferrari's own book, Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti . . . , is an important source of information about not only Ferrari's life but also about the state of music in the many places in Europe he visited during the late eighteenth century.[23] As Ferrari described in his book, his father was a middle class businessman and manufacturer in southern Tyrol, who discouraged his son's interest in music and hoped that he would take over the family business instead. Ferrari pursued his interest in music anyway, studying a variety of instruments, including keyboard, flute, violin, oboe, and double bass, in addition to studying composition with the noted Italian opera composers Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) and Gaetano Latillo (1711-1788).

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[23]Lengthy extracts from Ferrari's book are translated in Georges de Saint-Foix, "A Musical Traveler: Giacomo Gottifredo Ferrari (1759 [1763] -1842)," Musical Quarterly 25 (1939): 455-465, and in The Harmonicon of 1830 pp. 368-372 and 424-428.

In 1787 Ferrari left Italy for Paris, where he secured a position as accompanist at the Theater de Monsieur. Ferrari remained in this position until 1792, when he was forced by the turmoil of the French Revolution to seek refuge in London.

Soon after his arrival in London, Ferrari described meeting some of the other composers discussed above, including Haydn, J. B. Cramer, Dussek (the last two of which he described as "old friends") and J. P. Salomon.[24] Ferrari's meeting with Salomon must have been fruitful because Salomon agreed to include a work by Ferrari in his concert series. Although a printed program of this concert has not survived, it is known that a vocal work by Ferrari was performed on another of Salomon's concerts two years later, on March 3, 1794.[25] Ferrari remained in London for the rest of his life and was active primarily as a teacher of singing and a composer of opera and ballet.[26]

A long list of Ferrari's published music is found in the British Union Catalogue of Early Music, including

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[24] Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 155.

[25] Ibid. p. 241.

[26] Grove's, s.v. "Ferrari, Giacomo Gottifredo," by Alfred Loewenberg.

mainly small harp and piano pieces, arias, canzonets, and songs.[27] The only sonatas for piano, violin, and cello that are listed in this catalogue are three accompanied sonatas, op.11, published by Longman and Broderip ca.1795.[28] A longer list, supplied in Repertoire internationale de sources musicales, series A, contains the sonatas mentioned above in addition to three other sets of sonatas. Of these, two sets were published in London: three sonatas published by the author as op.25 and another set of three sonatas published as op.40 by R. Birchall.[29]

Forkel, Johann Nicolaus (1749-1818)

Forkel is remembered today primarily for his role as a musicologist, having written the first biography of J. S. Bach, Über J. S. Bach's Leben Kunst und Kunstwerke (Leipzig, 1802).[30] For most of his life Forkel was connected with the University of Göttingen, which he entered in 1769. Forkel later joined the faculty of the university and remained there for the rest of his life.

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[27] British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 1, p. 332.

[28] Ibid.

[29] RISM, series A, s.v. "Ferrari, Giacomo Gottifredo."

[30] Grove's, s.v. "Forkel, Johann Nicolaus," by Franz Gehring.

Wolf Franck has pointed out that Forkel was a colorless individual, about whose personal life little is known except that his only marriage ended in divorce when his wife left him.[31] An intensely conservative musician, Forkel was said by his contemporary Johann Wenzel Tomaschek (1774-1850) to have never noticed Clementi at all and to have "liked nothing of Mozart except the great Fantasy and Sonata in C minor." [32]

Forkel's small number of compositions, published mostly at his own expense, include ten sonatas for piano, violin, and cello. These include a group of six sonatas published in Göttingen in 1783, another sonata published in Göttingen in 1798, and three sonatas op.6 which were published in London by Broderip and Wilkinson in 1799.[33]

Hoberechts, John Lewis (ca.1760-ca.1820)

Very little is known about John Lewis Hoberechts. According to Eitner, Hoberechts lived in London between

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[31] Wolf Franck, "Musicology and Its Founder, Johann Nicolaus Forkel (1749-1818)" Musical Quarterly 35 (1939): 588-601.

[32] Adrienne Simpson and Sandra Horsfall, "A Czech Composer Views His Contemporaries," The Musical Times 115 (1974): 287-288.

[33] MGG, s.v. "Forkel, Johann Nicolaus," by Franz Peters-Marquardt and Alfred Dürr.

1790 and 1800 and published numerous pieces in a light style.[34] His works include twenty-three sonatas for piano, mostly with accompaniments for either the violin alone or violin and cello.[35] The British Union Catalogue of Early Music lists only two sonatas for piano, violin, and cello by Hoberechts which were published in London between 1791 and 1800: opp.5 and 6, both of which appeared in Longman and Broderip's Collection of Music for the Grand and Small Piano Forte (London: Longman and Broderip, ca.1795) as numbers six and ten respectively.[36]

Hummel, Johann Nepomuk (1778-1837)

Johann Nepomuk Hummel is one of the best known and most prolific composers included in this chapter. Most of Hummel's works for piano, violin, and cello were published after 1800, however, thus his contribution to the literature of the piano trio in London during the 1790's consists of only one sonata. Considering the composer's age during this

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[34]Eitner, Quellenlexicon, x.v. "Hoberechts, J. . . . L. . . ."

[35]RISM, series A, x.v. "Hoberechts, John Lewis."

[36]British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 1, p. 485.

period, his limited contribution is, perhaps, understandable.

Hummel resembles Mozart, his teacher, in that both were celebrated child prodigies at the piano, who were promoted in their careers by their fathers. In 1785 the elder Hummel moved to Vienna from Pressburg with his young son, whose talent was soon recognized by Mozart. Johann Nepomuk was taught by Mozart and actually lived in the latter's home for two years, in 1786 and 1787.[37] Hummel's first concert appearance in Vienna, at a concert sponsored by Mozart in 1787, was successful enough to encourage Hummel's father to take his young son on an extended concert tour through Bohemia, Germany, Denmark, Scotland, and, in 1792, to England.[38]

Hummel appeared in the eighth of Salomon's subscription concerts in 1792, on April 20. In this concert Hummel performed a piano trio by Haydn which is listed on the program as: "New Sonata Piano Forte. Master HUMMEL, with a Violin and Violoncello Obligato, Messrs. SALOMON and MENDEL. --HAYDN."[39] This trio, which was probably Hob.XV:14 in A-flat major, is the only piano trio by Haydn which is

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[37] Grove's, s.v. "Hummel, Johann Nepomuk," by Duncan Hume.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 157.

known to have been performed on a public concert in London during the 1790's. During the time Hummel was in London he also came into contact with a number of the composers discussed in this study, including Haydn, Clementi (with whom he studied for a short time in 1792), J. B. Cramer, and probably Dussek.[40]

In 1793 Hummel returned to Vienna, where he remained, for the most part, until 1816. Hummel studied composition in 1793 with both Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736-1809) and Antonio Salieri (1750-1825). Because Beethoven also studied with these teachers in 1793, it is possible that Hummel and Beethoven may have first met at that time.[41]

Hummel did continue to make concert tours between 1793 and 1816. Until recently it was thought that his only tour was to St. Petersburg at some time before 1803. Recent evidence, found in the diaries of the novelist Jane Porter, indicates that Hummel was also in England during part of this period. An entry in Porter's diary, dated February 19, 1801, indicates that Hummel and his father spent that evening with Porter and others, and also reveals

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[40] Newman, The Sonata Since Beethoven, p. 231.

[41] Grove's, s.v. "Hummel, Johann Nepomuk."

some new data concerning Hummel: 1) he was an accomplished performer on the harp, 2) he had a good singing voice, and 3) he was charming, at ease socially, and well read.[42]

In 1804 Hummel accepted the first of three Kapellmeister positions which he held during his life, with the Esterhazys at Eisenstadt. Both this position, from which he was dismissed in 1811 for neglecting his duties, and his next position, as Kapellmeister in Stuttgart were not suitable for Hummel. Hummel's third Kapellmeister position, which he accepted in 1819 at Weimar, proved to be satisfactory, however, and he remained there for the rest of his life.[43]

In Hummel's long list of compositions for the piano there are eight piano trios, as follows:[44]

Opus	Key	First Edition	Remarks
2a/1	B-flat	by the author, 1792	published in London
12	E-flat	Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, 1803	published in Vienna
22	F	Contor delle arti e d'Industria, 1802	composed March 3, 1799

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[42] Philip Highfill Jr., "Communication," Journal of the American Musicological Society 9 (1956): 70-71.

[43] Grove's, s.v. "Hummel, Johann Nepomuk."

[44] Joel Sachs, "A Checklist of the Works of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," Music Library Association Notes 30 (1974): 732-754.

Opus	Key	First Edition	Remarks
35	G	Bureau d'Industrie, ca.1810-1811	
65	G	Repertoire, ca. 1814-1815	
83	E	Boosey, 1819	earlier Peters ed. was unauthorized
93	E-flat	Christiani, ca. 1822	earlier version composed in late 1790
96	E-flat	Peters, ca.1822	

The one sonata by Hummel that conforms to the criteria for inclusion into this study is op.2a/1. This work was published by the author in a collection of three sonatas, the title page of which reads: "Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or Flute and Violoncello. . . Op.III." Only the first work in this set is actually provided with the accompaniments described in the title, however. The second sonata in the set is scored for flute or violin and piano and the third sonata is for piano solo.

King, Matthew Peter (1773-1823)

Matthew Peter King, who lived in London all of his life, was primarily known as a composer of light dramatic works and programmatic piano pieces.[45] King was a composer

[45] Grove's, s.v. "King, Matthew Peter" by C. Ferdinand Pohl.

of lesser stature, as is indicated by the fact that his name does not appear on Haydn's list of musicians active in London (see chapter 1, pp. 6-7), although he is known to have been in London during Haydn's visits there.

Only one sonata by King meets the criteria for inclusion into this study, a piece d'occasion entitled: "Cape Saint Vincent / a Grand Sonata / for the / Piano Forte / with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violincello / Expressive of the Glorious Naval Victory obtained over / the Spanish Fleet on the 14th of Feb. 1797. . . Op.8." Although other "battle pieces" for piano, violin, and cello were published in London during the 1790's, this is the only such work to be entitled "sonata" and, therefore, it is the only one to be included in this study.

Krumpholtz, Johann Baptist (1745-1790)

Krumpholtz was born near Prague and is known to have played the harp in the orchestra at Esterhazy from 1773 until 1776.[46] It is also known that Krumpholtz studied briefly with Haydn while both were at Esterhazy.[47]

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[46] Landon, CCLN, p. 266.

[47] Ibid.

Although he is important as a harpist and as a designer of improvements to the harp, Krumpholtz committed suicide in 1790 because of his wife's infidelity and therefore had little influence on the piano trio in the 1790's.[48] Two sonatas for piano, violin, and cello by Krumpholtz were published posthumously in London between 1791 and 1800. Neither of these works is known to have survived in a complete copy.[49]

Mazzinghi, Joseph (1765-1844)

As mentioned above, Mazzinghi is one of the few composers discussed in this chapter whose name appears in Haydn's list of musicians active in London. In his list, Haydn says that "Mazingi" (sic) is "at the piano forte in the Pantheon," the Pantheon being the theater in London which burned in 1792.

Mazzinghi, who is described as being of Corsican descent, is known to have studied with J. C. Bach and to have been an organist who was proficient enough as a young

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[48] Ibid.

[49] The British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 1, p. 582, indicates that the only copy of these sonatas, which is in the British Library, is imperfect.

man to succeed his father as organist at the Portuguese Chapel upon the latter's death in 1775.[50] Mazzinghi became a successful piano teacher and composed about 50 piano sonatas with and without accompaniments, as well as a number of dramatic works for performance in London.[51]

The works of Mazzinghi which fall into the scope of this study are two sonatas published as: "Two Grand Sonatas for the Piano-Forte with Accompaniments for a Flute or Violin and Violoncello . . . op.39" by Goulding, Phipps, and D'Almaine c.1799.

Pichl, Winceslaus (Wenzel) (1741-1805)

Although only three sonatas for piano, violin, and cello by Pichl were published in London between 1791 and 1800, he was, nevertheless, one of the most prolific composers encountered in this study. Pichl's total production of music includes over 700 works in most of the important media of the late eighteenth century.[52]

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[50] Grove's, s.v. "Mazzinghi, Joseph," by William H. Husk.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Grove's, s.v. "Pichl, Wenzel."

Pichl is one of the four composers mentioned above who are known not to have been in London during the 1790's. He was born in Bohemia and, after completing his elementary education, he studied philosophy, theology, and law at the University of Prague.[53]

The first important musical position Pichl held was as a violinist in the orchestra of the Bishop of Grosswardein near Pressburg. Pichl was offered this position in 1762 by Karl von Dittersdorf (1739-1799) who had himself just assumed the position as the Bishop's Kapellmeister which Michael Haydn had left vacant.[54] Dittersdorf described his first meeting with Pichl in his autobiography. He said that the day after he began his duties with the Bishop:

> . . . a young man of the name of Pichel arrived. I found him most attractive. He not only offered me his services in the orchestra, but gave me an opportunity of hearing the other musicians, who might suit my purpose at a Collegium Musicum in the Carmelite Church.[55]

Dittersdorf and Pichl became close friends during their tenure at Grosswardein. It was Dittersdorf who

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[53]Ibid.

[54]The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf trans. by A. D. Coleridge (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 137.

[55]Ibid., p. 139.

helped Pichl find another position when the Bishop was forced to disband his orchestra in 1769.[56]

Pichl performed in the service of Count Louis Hartwig in Prague for two years and in the orchestra of the National Theater in Vienna, before he accepted, in 1775, the position which he held for the rest of his life, in the service of Archduke Ferdinand. Pichl resided with the Archduke in Milan until 1796 and in Vienna thereafter.[57]

The three sonatas of Pichl which are of interest to this study were published by F. Linley in 1796. The title page reads: Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute and Violoncello . . . by Winceslaus Pichl, Professor of Music in Milan op.26. William Newman has written of these sonatas that they "border on the piano trio." Newman continues:

> The three sonatas in op.26 show about the same independence in the string parts that Gyrowetz's do. They have Mozartean traits--especially the chromaticism, feminine cadences, and thin accurate texture--and are a cut above the average by the minor Viennese composers in their ingratiating ideas and expressive harmony.[58]

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[56] The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf, pp. 174-182.

[57] Grove's, s.v. "Pichl, Wenzel."

[58] Newman, Classic, p. 561.

Radiger, Anton (J?) (?-?)

The following group of sonatas was published by the London publishers Longman and Broderip: "Two Favorite Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello Obligato Composed by J. Radiger, Opera 5." The British Union Catalogue of Early Music attributes these sonatas to a certain Anton Radiger and estimates their publication date as ca.1797.[59] Very little is known about Anton Radiger and nothing at all about J. Radiger, if, in fact, these two names do not refer to the same person. Eitner indicates that Anton Radiger lived in London around 1795 and offers the following list of works: 3 duets for 2 violins, op.4; 2 sonatas for piano with accompaniments for violin and cello, op.5; 1 rondo and other small pieces for piano; 8 songs; and four sets of psalm and hymn tunes in 3 and 4 parts.[60] Very similar lists of works are attributed to Anton Radiger in the British Union Catalogue of Early Music and in Repertoire internationale des sources musicales series A,[61]

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[59] British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 2, p. 870.

[60] Eitner, Quellenlexikon, s.v. "Radiger, Anton."

[61] Repertoire internationale des sources musicales, series A, vol. 7, pp. 81-82.

with the exception that the latter source credits J. Radiger with the two accompanied sonatas op. 5.

Seybold, S. Philip (?-?)

Very little is known about Seybold, including his birth and death dates. Three sonatas for the harp or piano with accompaniments for violin and cello by Seybold were published in London ca.1795. The title page of this set indicates that these sonatas were "Published by Subscription under the patronage of Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire" and refers to Seybold as "Professor of the Harp, No.29, Charlotte Street, Portland Place." Although he evidently lived in London at least some time during the 1790's, Seybold's name does not appear in Haydn's catalogue of musicians active in London. The only other datum which is known about Seybold is that he lived in Edinburgh during the first half of the nineteenth century.[62]

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[62]Henry George Farmer, A History of Music in Scotland (London: Hinrichsen Edition Ltd., 1947; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 408.

Sterkel, Johann Franz Xavier (Abbe) (1750-1817)

Sterkel was an exceptionally prolific composer whose many works for piano, violin, and cello were, for the most part, not published at the appropriate time and place to be considered in this study. Of the twenty-seven sonatas for piano, violin, and cello which have been attributed to Sterkel[63] only three sonatas op.30 were published in London between 1791 and 1800.[64]

Sterkel is another of the four composers who were not in London during the 1790's. He was born in Würzburg and entered the university there in 1764. All but a few years of Sterkel's life were spent in various church positions in Germany, the most important one in the service of the Elector of Mainz from 1778 until 1805.[65] In 1779 the Elector allowed Sterkel to take an extended trip to Italy; he remained there until 1782.

Sterkel was apparently successful in Italy, especially with his opera Il Furnace which was performed in

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[63] Augustin Scharnagl, Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel (Würzburg: Konrad Triltisch, 1943), pp. 43-47.

[64] The British Union Catalogue of Early Music, vol. 2, pp. 977-978.

[65] MGG, s.v. "Sterkel, Johann Franz Xaver" by Augustin Scharnagl.

Naples in January of 1782.[66] The influence of Sterkel's trip is evident in his music. Burney wrote in his General History of Music:

> The Abbe Sterkel has not traveled through Italy unprofitably; his harpsichord pieces, though not learned or Consonant to harmonic rules, are full of spirit, taste and pleasing passages; and he has not only collected all the vocal flowers of the greatest singers of the present times, but scattered them liberally through his works.[67]

Sterkel's influence on the young Beethoven has been noted by several scholars.[68] In 1791 Beethoven met Sterkel at Aschaffenburg where the latter was in residence as Kapellmeister to the Elector of Mainz. Nikolaus Simrock (1751-1832), a French horn player in the Bonn court orchestra, was present at that meeting and described it in a letter to Anton Schindler for use in Schindler's book on Beethoven:

> I remember that when we passed through Aschaffenburg many of the Electoral Court musicians thought it seemly to call on Kapellmeister Sterkel and introduce Beethoven to him. We were received in a very friendly manner and after a few courtesies the Kapellmeister obliged us with one of his sonatas with violin accompaniment . . . Sterkel played in his individual, delicate and very pleasing manner. Subsequently he asked

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Burney, A General History of Music, vol. 2, p. 960.

[68] Sterkel's influence on Beethoven is discussed briefly in Scharnagl, Sterkel, pp. 29-30 and 45-46.

> Beethoven to play his own variations on a theme by Righini. . . he played them completely in the manner of Herr Kapellmeister with the utmost dantiness and brilliant lightness as if these difficult variations were really as light as Sterkel's own sonata, and added a couple of new variations for good measure.[69]

Mozart was more critical of Sterkel's playing. In a letter to his father dated November 26, 1777, Mozart reported that he had heard Sterkel play some duets "so fast that it was hard to follow them, and not at all clearly, and not in time."[70]

Sterkel's compositional style was also subjected to serious criticism. In his Musical Characteristics op. 19 Clementi wrote two preludes each in the styles of Haydn, Kozeluch, Mozart, Sterkel, and Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739-1813). In Clementi's preludes in the style of Sterkel the latter's style is satirized by the use of rapidly changing tempo indications such as one measure of "Allegro molto" followed by seven measures of "Allegretto ma grazioso e dolce." In Clementi's other prelude in the style of Sterkel the indications "piano" and "forte" alternate four times per measure at a tempo marked "presto."[71]

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[69]H. C. Robbins Landon, Beethoven: A Documentary Study (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 51.

[70]Anderson, The Letters of Mozart, vol. 1, p. 391.

[71]Eva Badura-Skoda, "Clementi's Musical Characteristics op.19," pp. 62-63.

Tomich, Francesco (Flosculus) (1756-?)

Little is known about one of the better composers encountered in this study, Francesco Tomich. Tomich was born in Bohemia and studied in Prague where he was accepted into the order of the Brothers of Charity.[72] It is known that Tomich also studied in Vienna, although when and at what institution is not known, and that he returned to Prague in 1796.[73]

At some point during the 1790's Tomich must have lived in London because he appears in Haydn's list of musicians who were active there. It is possible that Haydn knew Tomich personally because Tomich is one of the few composers included in this study whose works appear in Joseph Elssler's catalogue of Haydn's personal music library.[74]

Fétis provides a short list of works by Tomich, all of which appear to be accompanied sonatas:

Op.1 three sonatas for piano and violin
Op.2 three sonatas for piano and violin
Op.3 three Trios Concertants for piano, violin, and cello

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[72]Fétis, Biographie universelle, s.v. "Tomisch, Flosculus."

[73]Ibid.

[74]Landon, Haydn, vol. 5, p. 307.

Op.4 three Trios Concertants for piano, violin, and cello
Op.? Overture for piano, violin, and cello
Op.13 three sonatas for piano, violin, and cello[75]

A set of three accompanied sonatas by Tomich has been obtained for this study. The title page of this set indicates that it was "Printed for the Author" and gives no opus number.

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[75]Fétis, Biographie universelle, s.v. "Tomisch Flosculus."

CHAPTER V

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MUSIC

The following chapters are devoted to a discussion and description of a selected group of the works mentioned in chapters three and four. Of the 173 works mentioned, 84, or approximately 49 per cent, have been selected for study. The factors considered in the selection process of these works include 1) the historical prominence of the composer, 2) the size of the composer's output of music which meets the criteria for inclusion into this study, and 3) the availability of copies of the music.

Two of the composers, Haydn and Clementi, are important enough to merit the inclusion of all of their piano trios which were published in London between 1791 and 1800. The remaining composers are represented proportionately according to size of their contributions of trios. Each composer is represented by at least one opus, uaually consisting of three sonatas. The availability of copies of the music has influenced the selection process in only two instances. As pointed out in chapter four, the works of J. B. Krumpholtz apparently no longer exist in a complete copy. The works of J. B. Cramer have also

been difficult to obtain. Most of the extant works of Cramer are incomplete, each lacking one or both of the string parts. As a result, only one opus of three sonatas by this prolific composer has been available for study.

That approximately half of the known works constitutes a representative sample becomes clear when the following factors concerning the works as a whole are considered. First, the great majority of the composers studied produced only one or two collections of sonatas during this period. As a result, it has frequently been possible to include most if not all of their total productions of London trios from the 1790's. Secondly, the bulk of the music covered by this study was, as described in chapter three, written by a small group of composers. Because much of this music, with the exception of the works of Haydn and, to a lesser extent, Clementi, displays a remarkable similarity, it has not been considered necessary to include high percentages of the total number of works by these composers in order to obtain an accurate view of the piano trio as it was published in London during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The Sonata Cycles

Several factors concerning the sonata cycles as

a whole reveal important information about the works studied. These factors include 1) the number of movements in the cycles, 2) the tonality, modality, tempo and meter of these movements, 3) the choice of formal structures used, and 4) the means by which cyclic unification is promoted.

Sonata cycles account for all but two of the eighty-four works. The remaining two are 1) a programmatic suite by Matthew Peter King, mentioned in chapter four, and 2) a one movement sonata by Clementi, opus 35/III. Both of these works are reserved for separate consideration.

The most noticeable characteristic observed in examining the sonata cycles is the remarkable similarity of approach by all of the composers. It is noteworthy, although not unexpected, that most departures from the normal patterns established below are found in the works of Haydn.

One way in which the similarity of approach noted above is apparent is in the number of movements in the sonata cycles. A strong preference is visible in the works of all the composers for three-movement cycles, this type accounting for sixty-four of the eighty-two cycles, or approximately 78 per cent. Two movement cycles are

found in sixteen works, approximately 20 per cent, while only one four-movement cycle, by H. L. Hoberechts, is found.

Haydn's works are not significantly different from the works of the other composers in regard to the number of movements in the cycle but they are quite different in factors related to tonality. Although none of the works of the other composers are in keys exceeding three flats or sharps, one of Haydn's, Hoboken XV:28, is in E major. More interesting is the proportion of major keys to minor keys. Only three of the sonata cycles examined are in minor keys, a percentage of only 3.6 per cent. All three of these works are by Haydn: Hoboken XV:19 in G minor, XV:23 in D minor, and XV:26 in F-sharp minor.

Several studies have shown that the use of the major mode far exceeds that of the minor mode in the classical period. William Newman, for example, has found that minor keys are used in approximately twenty per cent of the sonatas of this era.[1] Even so, the inordinately small percentage of works in minor keys examined for this study is surprising. When a larger sample of the works covered by this study is considered, the statistics on the use of

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[1]Newman, Classic, p. 137.

the minor mode are not significantly altered. While information concerning the tonalities of all 173 of the works covered by this study is not available, an examination of the works of three of the most prolific composers, Gyrowetz, Kozeluch, and Pleyel, reveals a total of only three sonata cycles in minor keys in all of their 80 works combined.

In a recent study of the use of the minor mode in the classical period, Longyear has found that the minor mode was more common in music designed for amateur performers than for audiences of amateurs during this period.[2] While Longyear's study, which is based on thematic catalogues issued by the publishers Breitkopf and Härtel during the late eighteenth century, indicates that the minor mode was used in 11 per cent of the works which were, in Longyear's opinion, intended for amateur performers, this finding does not agree with that of the present study of music also presumed to have been written for amateurs.

Even in the cycles in minor keys there is observed an intentional weakening of the minor mode. In Hoboken XV:19, for example, the first and last movements begin in G minor but end in G major after lengthy sections in that

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[2]R. M. Longyear, "The Minor Mode in the Classical Period" The Music Review 32 (1971): 29-30.

key, the last movement having been in G minor for only the first sixteen measures. In Hoboken XV:23 the dissolution of the minor mode is even more complete: the first movement begins in D minor but ends in D major, the second movement is in B-flat major, and the third movement is in D major throughout. In Hoboken XV:31, a two movement cycle, the first movement is in E-flat minor but the second movement is in E-flat major.

The minor mode is also infrequently used for movements within cycles whose predominant modality is major. Excluding the works of Haydn, only six of the 187 movements are in minor keys. Of these six movements in minor keys, four are the second movements of three-movement cycles, one is the second movement of a sonata by Pleyel (Benton 448), which is a two-movement cycle, and one is the third movement of Kozeluch's op.48/III. The Kozeluch work is especially unusual in that the first two movements are in E-flat major and the third is in C minor.

In regard to tonal relationships between movements in the cycle, an examination of the Appendix reveals two more interesting facts. First, the most common tonal plan of the three-movement cycles, I-IV-I, which occurs in 47 per cent of the works examined, is not found in the works of Haydn at all. This plan, however, accounts for

nearly 60 per cent of the works of the other composers. Second, the movements of Haydn's three-movement cycles are usually in third related keys (in almost 85 per cent of them) while this procedure is relatively uncommon in the works of the other composers, occurring in only approximately 14 per cent of the cycles.

When the tempo and meter of movements in the sonata cycles is considered, the pattern observed above continues: overall the works display a remarkable consistency, while the sonatas of Haydn depart from the normal in several important respects. In the works of all the composers except Haydn, sonata cycles with the overall plan fast-slow-fast are almost universal, the only exceptions being four sonatas with the plan fast-fast-fast.[3]

The fast-slow-fast sonata cycle is also the most common type in the works of Haydn, accounting for nine of his thirteen three-movement sonatas, but other, more innovative, types are also found. Two of Haydn's trios, Hoboken XV:23 and 25 have the plan slow-slow-fast, one work, Hoboken XV:28, has three fast movements, and in another

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[3]Clementi op.27/III, Allegro-Allegretto-Presto; op.28/III, Allegro-Andante Allegretto-Allegro; op.35/I, Allegro-Allegretto-Vivace; and Pleyel op.31/II, Allegro-Allegretto-Presto.

work, Hoboken XV:26, the movements are marked "Allegro" "Adagio," and "Tempo di menuetto." In the seventeen two-movement sonata cycles the most common plan is fast-fast, found in eleven works. The only other type of two movement cycle which is represented by more than one example is the slow-fast type of which there are two.

Simple duple and quadruple meters are by far the most common in the sonata cycles. In the three-movement cycles these meters are found in 77 per cent of the first movements, 51 per cent of the second movements, and 55 per cent of the third movements. With regard to meter, the most important difference between the works of Haydn and those of the other composers is Haydn's greater use of triple meter in the finales of his three-movement cycles. Triple meter is found in nine of Haydn's thirteen third-movements, or 69 per cent, but in only 6 of the 52 works by other composers, or around 12 per cent.

The pattern observed above is also apparent with regard to the placement of formal structures within the sonata cycles. Sonata form is, as might be expected, the decided preference for the first movement of the three-movement cycles. The only other types of formal structures found in the first movements are the rondo in one work each by J. L. Dussek (op.20/III) and Francesco Tomich

(op.1/III), and variation sets, which occur only in four Haydn works: Hoboken XV:19, 23, 25, and 29. It is noteworthy that more than 30 per cent of Haydn's three-movement cycles have first movements which are not in sonata form while the corresponding percentage for the works of the other composers is only 4 per cent.

In the second movements of the three-movement cycles the choice of form is much more varied than in the first movements. Ternary forms are the most common single type in the second movements of all the composers, accounting for approximately 43 per cent. Of the remaining 57 per cent, 20 per cent are sonata forms, 17 per cent are binary forms, 11 per cent are rondo forms and 8 per cent are variations.

In the third movements the rondo form is nearly as pervasive as the sonata form is in the first movement. Overall, 55 of the 65 third movements are in rondo form, approximately 85 per cent. Sonata forms account for 12 per cent and ternary and variation forms account for 1.5 per cent each.

One remaining area concerning the sonata cycles as a whole to be discussed is the various means which are employed to promote unification among the movements of the sonata cycles. Three principal means are used to promote cyclic unification 1) the use of particular key relationships, 2) the use of melodic material common to two or more

movements, and 3) the connection of movements by means of transitions and performance instructions.

The first of these means, tonal relationships, is mentioned above. It is observed above that tertian relationships are found mainly in the works of Haydn. Aside from this, however, no great tendency toward cyclic unification through any obvious devices is observed in the works of Haydn as compared with those of the other composers.

With regard to the use of melodic material to unify the movements of the cycles, two approaches may be described. First, some scholars have expressed the view that fundamental underlying relationships necessarily exist between the different movements of cyclic compositions.[4] This view has been countered by arguments that the thematic resemblances which have been used to justify such arguments are often coincidental and are a result of the style of melodic writing which was common in the late eighteenth century.[5] No significant thematic resemblances have been found between the movements of the works examined for this study.

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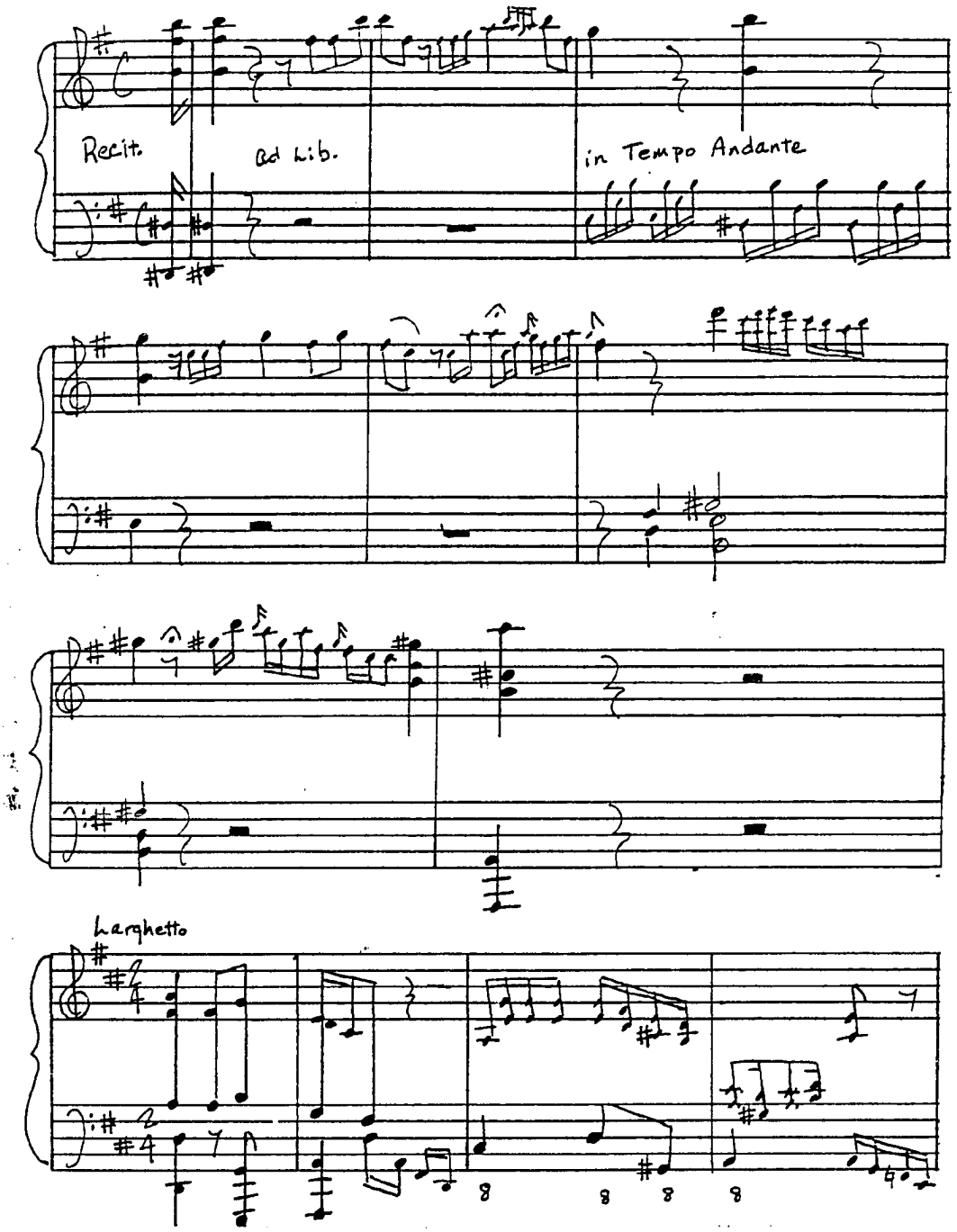
[4]Rudolf Reti, The Thematic Process in Music (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1951), pp. 4-7.

[5]Jan LaRue, "Significant and Coincidental Resemblances Between Classical Themes," Journal of the American Musicological Society 14 (1961): 224-234.

Another type of thematic unification which is more tangible than the above is found in Gyrowetz op.14/III. In the third movement of this work a section marked "Recit [ative] " begins at measure 68 with a change in tempo and meter from fast 6/8 to slow 4/4. This brief section is followed by another change in tempo and meter as well as key at measure 77, at which point the opening theme of the preceding movement is presented (example 1).

This example is unique in the works studied and is certainly uncommon in keyboard music of the late eighteenth century. If Gyrowetz copied this technique from some other late eighteenth century composer it has not been possible to ascertain from whom. It is noteworthy that this "advanced" technique does not appear in the keyboard works of Beethoven until the first of his two piano sonatas op.27 of 1800-1801.

By far the most common means of cyclic unification found in the trios is the use of connected movements. In all, thirteen of the eighty-two sonata cycles have attached movements, with no significant difference being observed between the works of Haydn and those of the other composers in the frequency of use of this device. The



Example 1. Gyrowetz, sonata in D major, op.14/III, third movement, piano part, measures 68-75.

most common type of connection between the movements of the works studied involves the joining of the second and third movements of three-movement cycles, this type accounting for eleven of the thirteen examples. In one other case, the four-movement sonata by Hoberechts, the second and third movements of a four movement cycle are joined, while in the second sonata of Radiger's op.5 the first and second movements of a three-movement cycle are connected.

Having discussed the sonata cycles as a whole it is appropriate here to describe certain general style characteristics found in the individual movements. In general it is accurate to say that the works examined in this study conform closely to the classical style as it has been described by many notable scholars and need not be described again here. Indeed, it might well be maintained that the chief deficiency of much of this music is the dearth of imagination found within and the reliance on clichés and standard formulas. The following discussion is most concerned, therefore, with areas within which it is felt that past descriptions of classical style have been incomplete or have provided a distorted picture and with areas in which some of the works studied depart from the normal.

One aspect of the classical style which appears to be in need of clarification is that of phrase structure. Perhaps no single structural feature of late eighteenth-century music has been considered the epitome of classical style more than its "ideal" phrase structure, the binary period. Even so, the term "period" has generally been defined vaguely,[6] although it is commonly used to refer to a harmonically closed statement consisting of two symmetrical sub-units separated by a weak cadence. Recent studies have shown that the period, however appropriate it might seem to the eighteenth-century love of order and symmetry, is not as predominant in late eighteenth-century music as was once presumed.[7] In this study it has been found that thematic material, including such usually less structured areas as the episodes of rondo forms or the related key areas of sonata-form expositions, conforms to the definition of the period given above less than 25 per cent of the time.

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[6]The Harvard Dictionary of Music, 2nd ed., for example, defines "period" as: "A group of measures comprising a natural division of melody; usually comprising two or more contrasting or complementary phrases and ending with a cadence."

[7]Denes Bartha, "On Beethoven's Thematic Structure" The Musical Quarterly 56 (1970): 761-762.

Some reasons which help to explain the low percentage of period structures found are 1) the eighteenth-century predilection for the elongation of phrases by means of cadential extension frequently produces asymmetrical structures, 2) many phrase structures conform to patterns which are not binary but ternary or, more commonly, quatternary, and 3) much thematic material is ordered in phrase groups which conform to none of the above patterns.

Quatternary structures are the most important non-binary type found in this study. The concept of quatternary stanza structure was formulated by Denes Bartha in the late 1960's as a result of his study of Central European folk music. Bartha's theoretical conception of quatternary stanza structure stems from models found in poetry and folk music rather than prose, as is the case with the concept of periodicity. Because of this, Bartha uses terminology borrowed from poetry, such as the use of "stanza" rather than "phrase", to describe this phenomenon.[8]

Characteristics Bartha associates with quatternary stanza structure are 1) a structure composed of four sections of equal length, usually two measures each, with the pattern AA^1BC, 2) rests or strong melodic cadences

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[8]Ibid., pp. 761-764.

to set off the first two sections, 3) the third and fourth sections joined together, a process Bartha calls enjambment, 4) a third ("B") section composed of a short motivic figure which is repeated, and 5) a final section which usually has either reduced or increased motion as a result of slower or faster note values, rests, or other devices.[9]

Bartha cites as an example of quatternary stanza structure the opening of the first movement of Beethoven's fifth symphony (example 2). In the first theme proper of this movement, which follows two brief introductory figures, the following characteristics associated with quatternary stanza structure are observed 1) the theme is composed of four short sections in the pattern AA^1BC, 2) the first and second sections are set off by rests, 3) the third section is composed of a repeated figure, 4) the third and fourth sections are joined together, and 5) the final section has reduced motion due to the presence of rests.

Quatternary stanza structure is thought by Bartha to have had its first use in art music in the works of Haydn. Whether or not this is true, quatternary patterns are observed in the works of several of the composers

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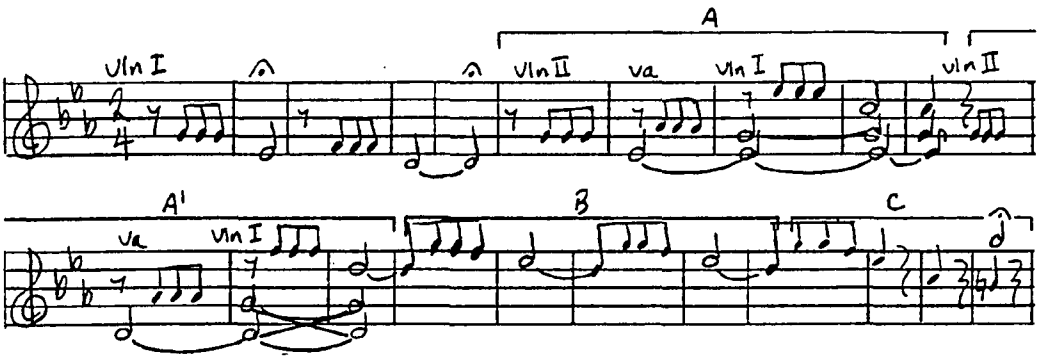
[9]Ibid.

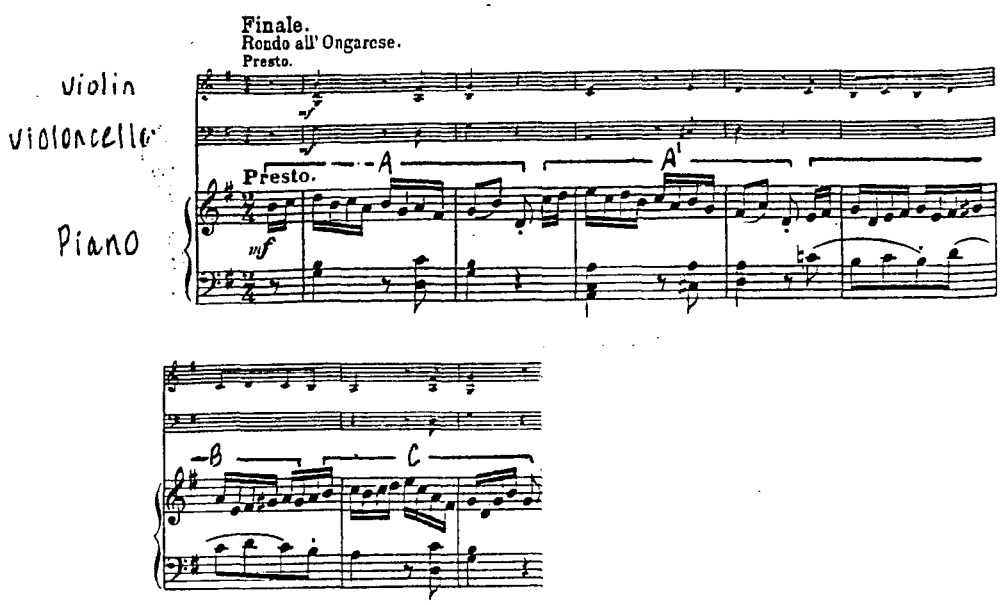


Example 2. Beethoven, Symphony No. 5 in C minor, first movement, measures 1-21.

examined for this study. It is difficult to arrive at meaningful statistics concerning the relative frequencies of quatternary and binary structures, primarily because, with the exception of certain thematically well defined areas such as the tonic sections of sonata form expositions and the refrains of rondo forms, most "themes" are actually only loosely organized phrase groups. In the two well defined areas listed above, however, quatternary patterns account for significant percentages of the total number of themes. In the refrains of rondo forms, for example, quatternary patterns are found almost 29 per cent of the time. The corresponding figure for periodic structures is 18 per cent. In the tonic areas of sonata

form expositions quatternary structures are found in only 7 per cent of the works studied while periodic structures are found in 32 per cent.

The best known theme with a quatternary structure found in the works included in this study is certainly the opening theme of the last movement of Haydn's trio Hob.XV:25, the "Gypsy Rondo" (example 3).

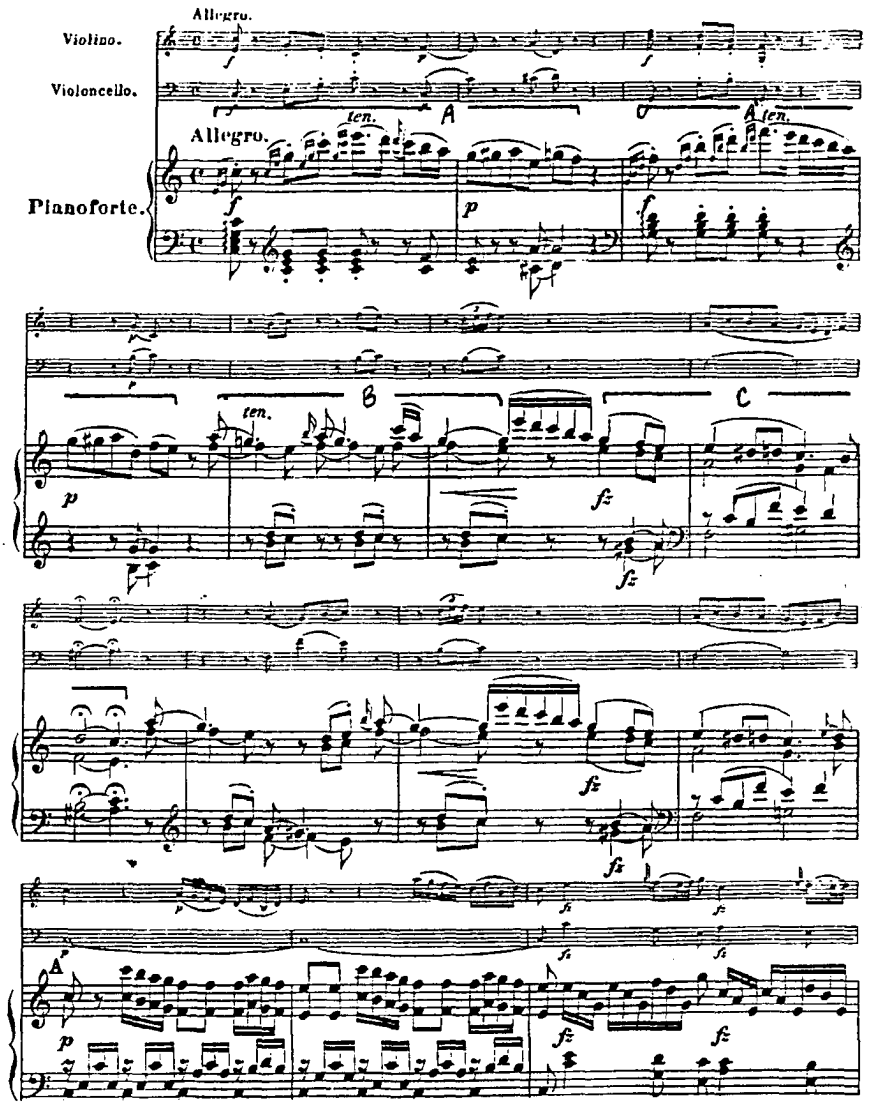


Example 3. Haydn, Piano Trio in G major, Hob.XV:25, third movement, measures 1-8.

It is observed in example 3 that all of the characteristics of quatternary stanza structure listed above

are present, with the exception of the fact that the final section ("C") displays neither reduced nor increased motion.

In both the Beethoven and Haydn examples given above the "C" sections seem to function as continuations of the motives which are stated and repeated in the "B" sections. While this quality is by no means universal in quatternary stanza structures, it appears with sufficient frequency to deserve mention. In fact, it is often possible to view the "B" and "C" sections not as the product of two phrases (stanzas) which have been subjected to enjambment, but as one four-measure phrase within which the development (through repetition) of a motive takes place. The macrostructure of such themes might be more accurately considered to be a refinement of the bar (AAB) form rather than a quatternary design. An example from the works of Haydn which shows this process more clearly is found in the first movement of Hoboken XV:27 (example 4). In this example it is clear that the composer's intention is the development of a single idea in order to 1) create a sense of anticipation on the part of the listener, and 2) elongate the phrase by interior expansion rather than cadential extension.



Example 4. Haydn, Piano Trio in C major Hob.XV:27, first movement, measures 1-14.

It is useful to compare example 4 with an example from the first movement of Kozeluch's op.48/III (example 5). In this example, a theme with all of the characteristics of quatternary structure, except for a "B" section which is not composed of a repeated motive, is preceeded by a four measure introductory phrase. The process at work in this example appears to be the opposite of that which is observed above. Here the "B" section is motivically related to and functions as a continuation of the "A" and "A^1" sections.

Example 5 also reveals a type of quatternary structure which Bartha has called "quatternary stanza structure with refrain."[10] This type of structure appears to be the product of a dissatisfaction on the part of some composers with the simplicity of a single quatternary structure. Bartha cites as an example of this type of theme the opening of the first movement of Beethoven's op.2 number 3 (example 6). In this example, the "refrain" (measures 9-12) is varied (i.e., the melody is moved to the lowest part).

One very unusual method of extending a quatternary structure is observed in the second movement of

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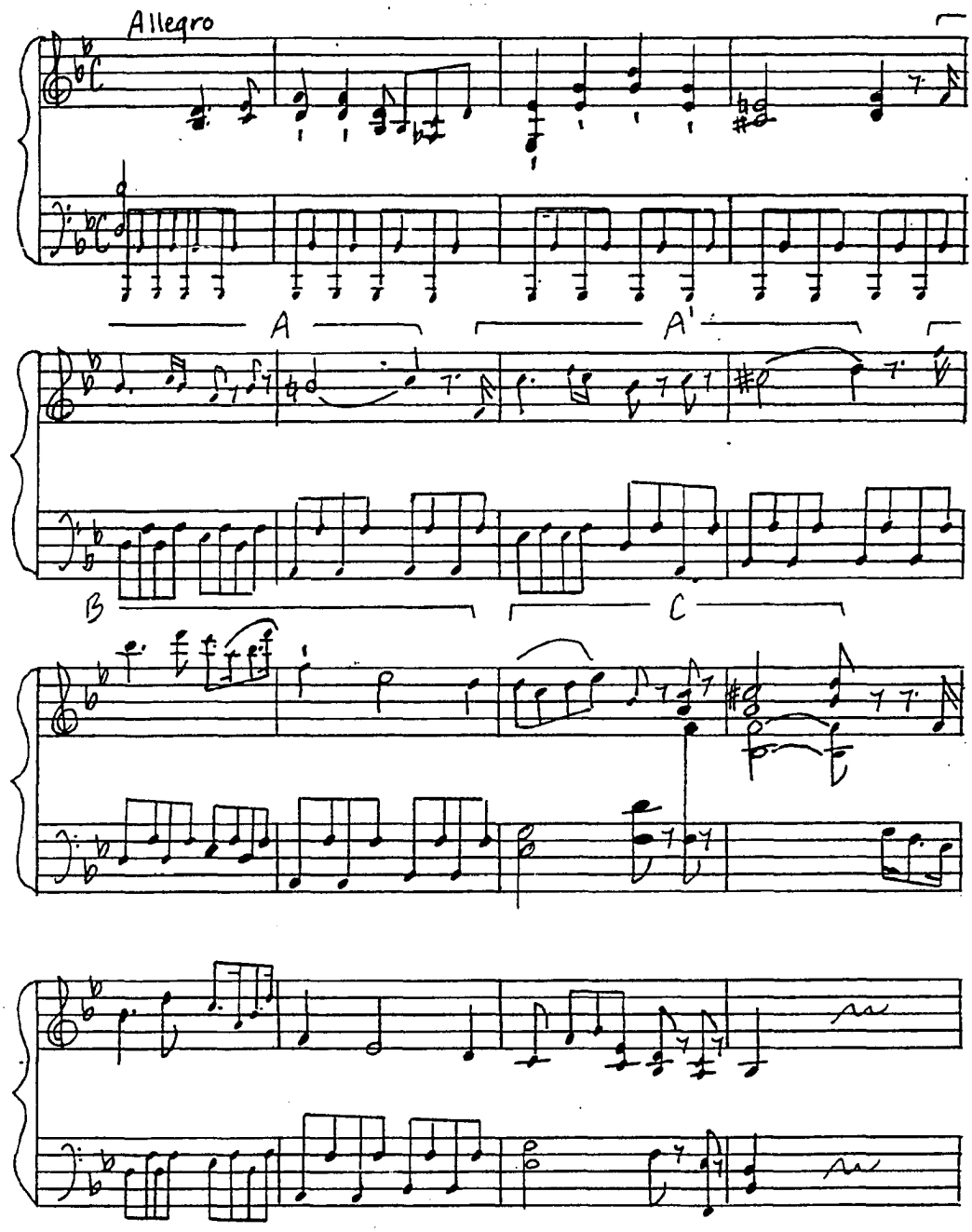
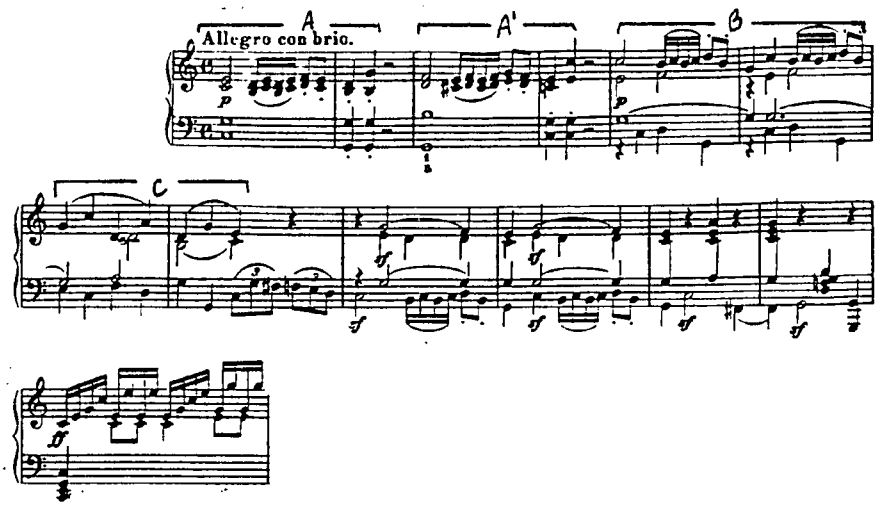
[10]Ibid., p. 768.



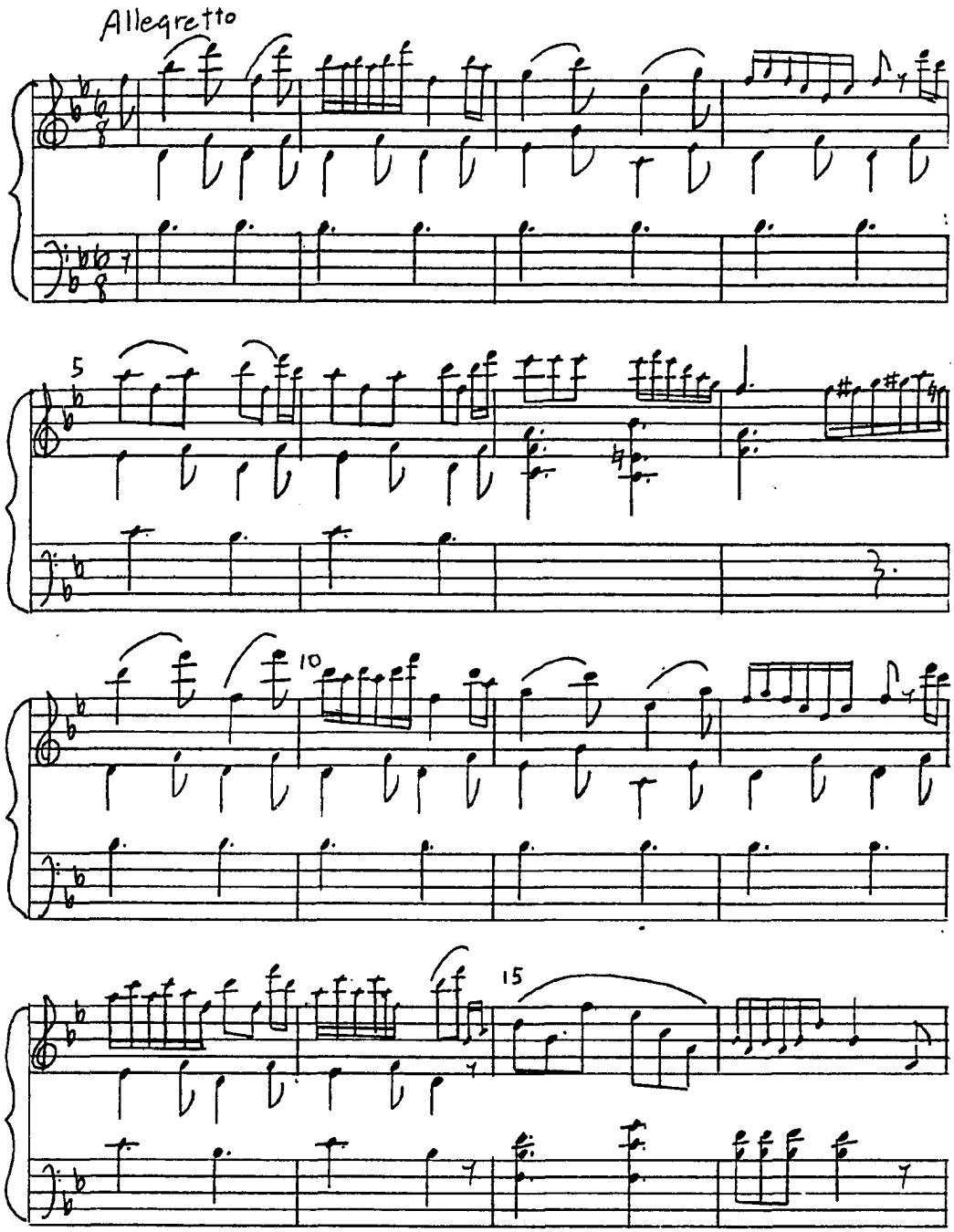
Example 5. Kozeluch, Sonata in B-flat major op.48/III, first movement, piano part, measures 1-16.



Example 6. Beethoven, Sonata in C major op.2 number 3, first movement, measures 1-13.

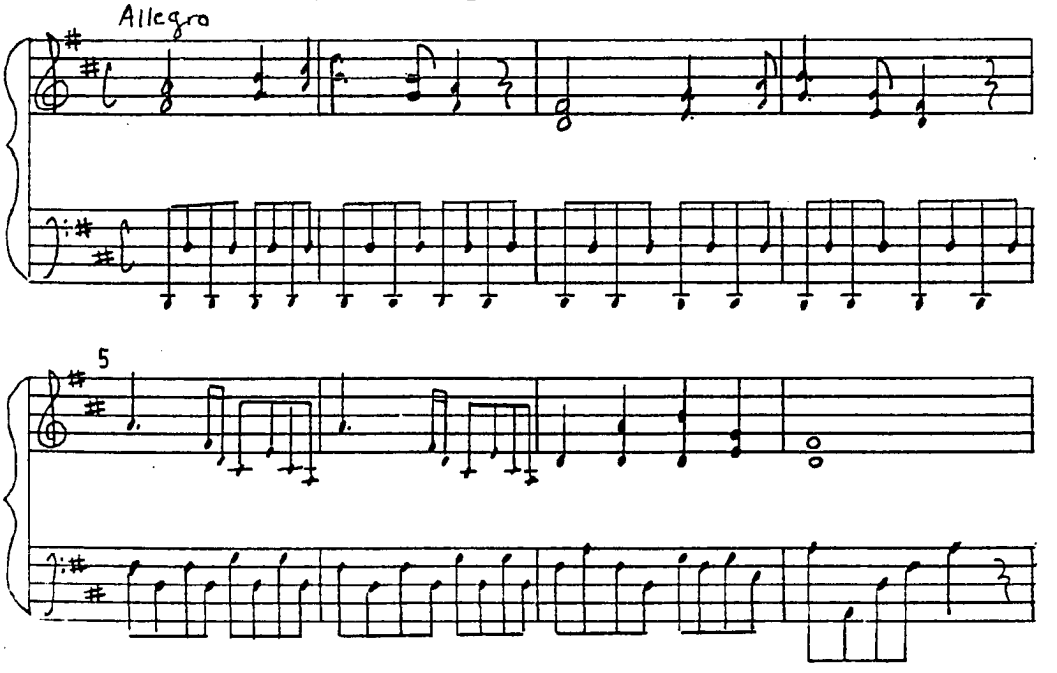
Kozeluch's op.48/III (example 7). In this example the entire quatternary structure is repeated with slight variation and a different ending. This appears to be a kind of double quatternary structure with the pattern $AA^1BC\text{-}AA^1B^1D$. It is interesting that the two quatternary structures together conform to the definition of the period given above in that they form a harmonically closed statement consisting of two sub-sections separated by a weak (half) cadence.

Of all the composers included in this study, quatternary stanza structures are found most often not in the works of Haydn, the supposed originator of this device,

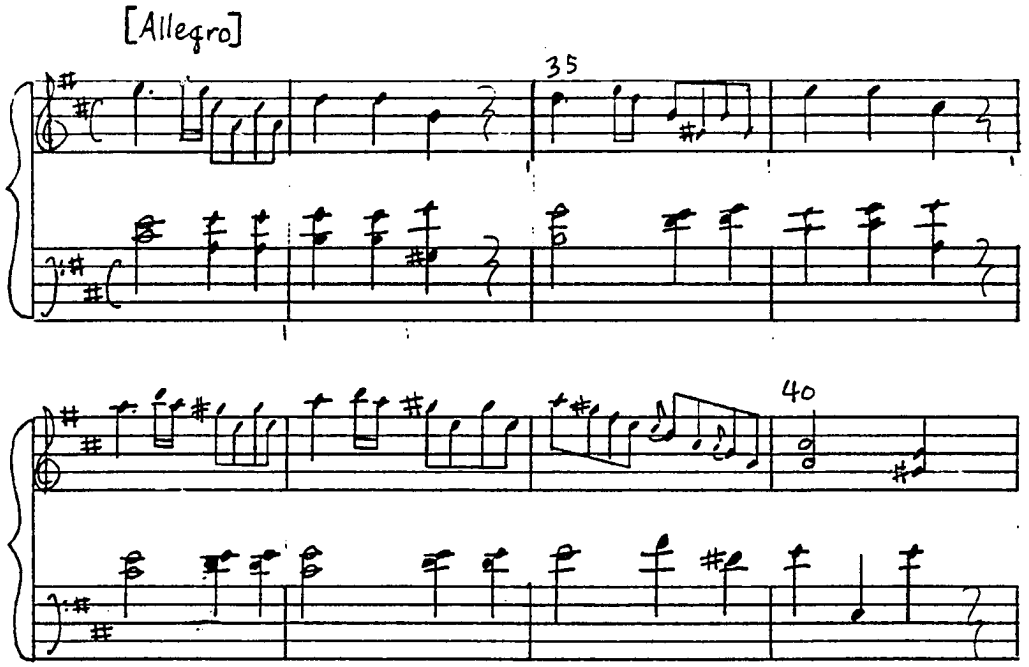


Example 7. Kozeluch, Sonata in B-flat major op.48/III, second movement, piano part, measures 1-16.

but in the works of Kozeluch. Quatternary structures are common in Kozeluch's works not only because they are used in several works but because more than one such structure is often found within an individual movement. In nearly one-third of Kozeluch's sonata-form movements both the tonic and related key areas contain themes with quatternary structures. The first movement of op.43/III will serve as an example (examples 8 and 9).



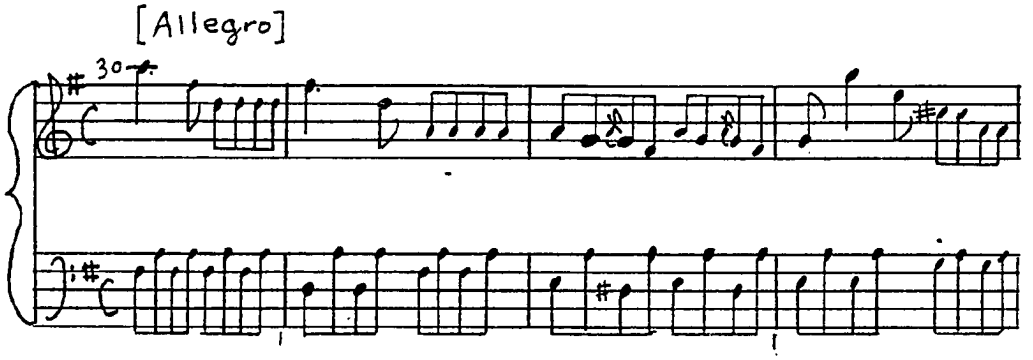
Example 8. Kozeluch, Sonata in D major op.43/III, first movement, piano part, measures 1-8.



Example 9. Kozeluch, Sonata in D major op.43/III, first movement, piano part, measures 33-40.

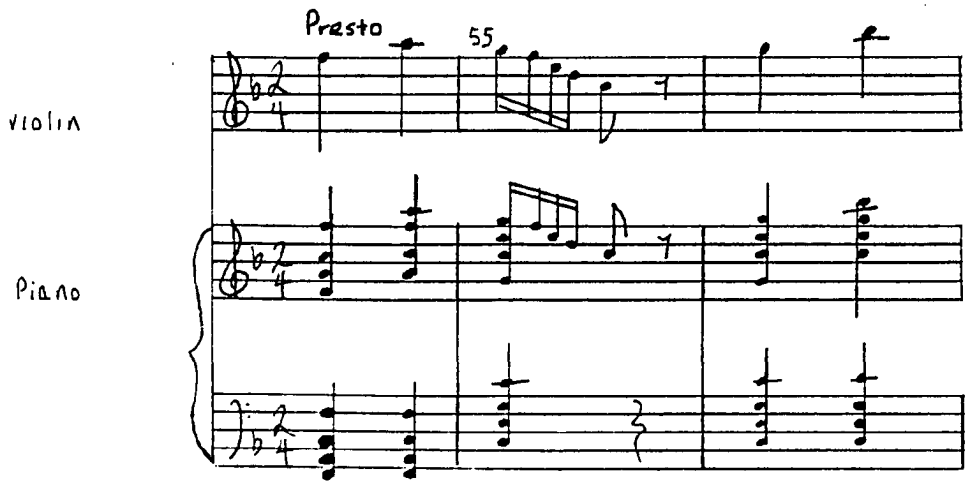
In another Kozeluch work, op.43/II/ii, the second theme of the movement, which is in sonata form, displays an unusual quatternary pattern (example 10). In this example it is observed that all the characteristics of quatternary structure are compressed into a theme which is only four measures long.

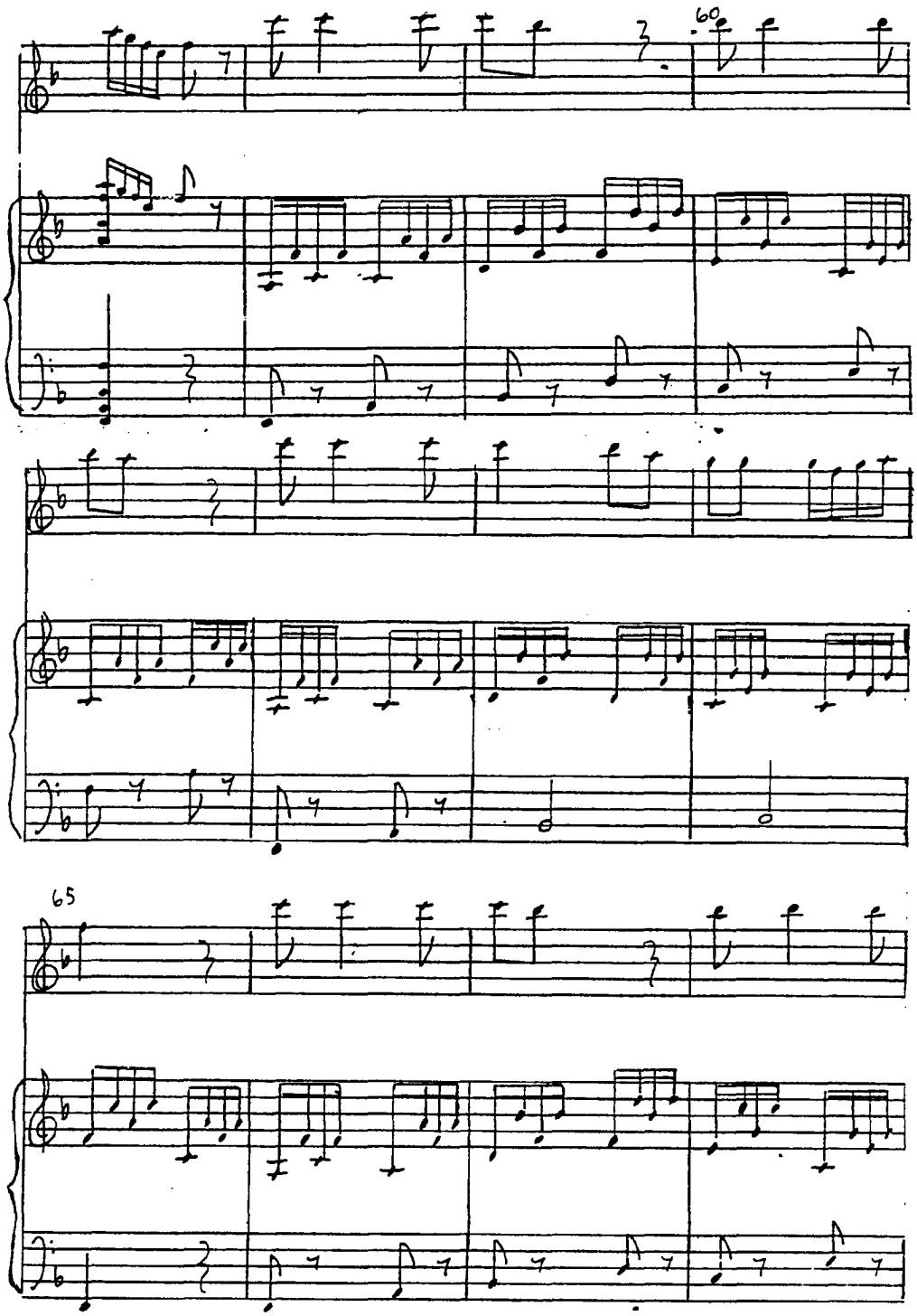
As the examples given above reveal, a wide variety of modifications of the basic quatternary pattern are possible. One of the more unusual quatternary patterns

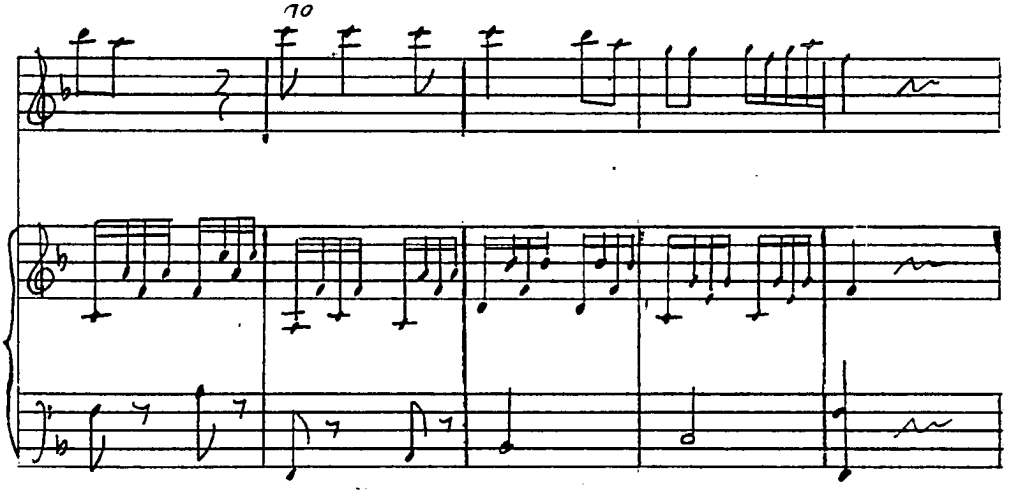


Example 10. Kozeluch, Sonata in G major op.43/II, first movement, piano part, measures 30-33.

found in this study is in the third movement of Ferrari's op.11/I (example 11).







Example 11. Ferrari, Trio in F major op.11/I, third movement, piano and violin parts, measures 54-73.

In this example of quatternary stanza structure with refrain the stanzas are not all of the same length due to the elongation of the final ("C") section.

Orchestration

An important aspect of the general style of the works studied which is in need of further clarification is that of the roles played by the violin and cello. As pointed out in chapter 2, William Newman's description of the possible roles for the stringed instruments in the accompanied sonata overlooks an important type of sonata in which the strings, primarily the violin, share equally

in the presentation of melodic material. This type of sonata, which has been called the "concertante" sonata, existed simultaneously with the optionally-accompanied sonata around the middle of the eighteenth century before being eclipsed by the latter in the 1760's.

In order to understand the music included in this study it is important not to expect what Ronald Kidd has called "a direct line of 'progress' from an early optionally-accompanied style to the fully developed concertante sonata of Mozart and Beethoven."[11] Even as late as the 1790's several approaches to the writing of the string parts are observed in accompanied sonatas. These include 1) works in which the string parts are entirely optional from the standpoint of melodic continuity, 2) works in which the string parts, usually the violin, occasionally have independent melodic material while generally playing a subservient role, 3) works in which the violin is an equal partner with the piano while the cello continues its secondary role, and 4) works in which all three instruments play primary roles.

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[11]Ronald R. Kidd, "The Emergence of Chamber Music With Obligato Keyboard in England," Acta Musicologica 44 (1972): 122.

The distribution of the works in the categories listed above is approximately as follows:

Category	Description	Percentage
1	string parts are optional	48%
2	string parts are occasionally independent	34%
3	violin participates equally with piano	14%
4	all three instruments are nearly equal	4%

Two important facts emerge from the data given above. First, better than half of the works examined, those in categories 2, 3, and 4 have string parts which are essential for melodic continuity and are, therefore, not optional. Second, the concertante type of sonata, which began to decline in popularity in the 1760's, still accounts for almost 18 per cent of the works (those in categories 3 and 4).

The treatment of the string parts differs between the works in categories 2 and 3 not only in the extent to which one or both of the string parts has melodic material but also in the nature of this melodic material. In category 2 the melodic material given to the strings is usually of secondary importance. The most common areas in which

the string parts present melodic material are the episodes of rondo forms, the related key areas of sonata-form expositions, and the middle sections of ternary forms. In category 3, on the other hand, the dominant role alternates between the piano and violin in the manner of a concerto (hence the term "concertante"). It has even been maintained by Kidd that the keyboard concerto and concertante sonata evolved simultaneously and that "it was only the development of the pianoforte and the enriched scoring of Mozart and his generation that removed the keyboard concerto from the realm of chamber music."[12]

An example that illustrates well the concertante quality observed in the works of category 3 is Tomich op. 1/III/i. In this sonata-form movement the opening theme, a complex consisting of two quatternary-type structures presented in the piano part (example 12), is followed by a partial re-statement by the violin. This double statement of the opening theme is a common feature of the works of category 3. Throughout the Tomich work the piano and violin parts continue in this alternation of the dominant role. In the development section of this work the opposition of the piano and violin parts reaches a climax in a canon at the

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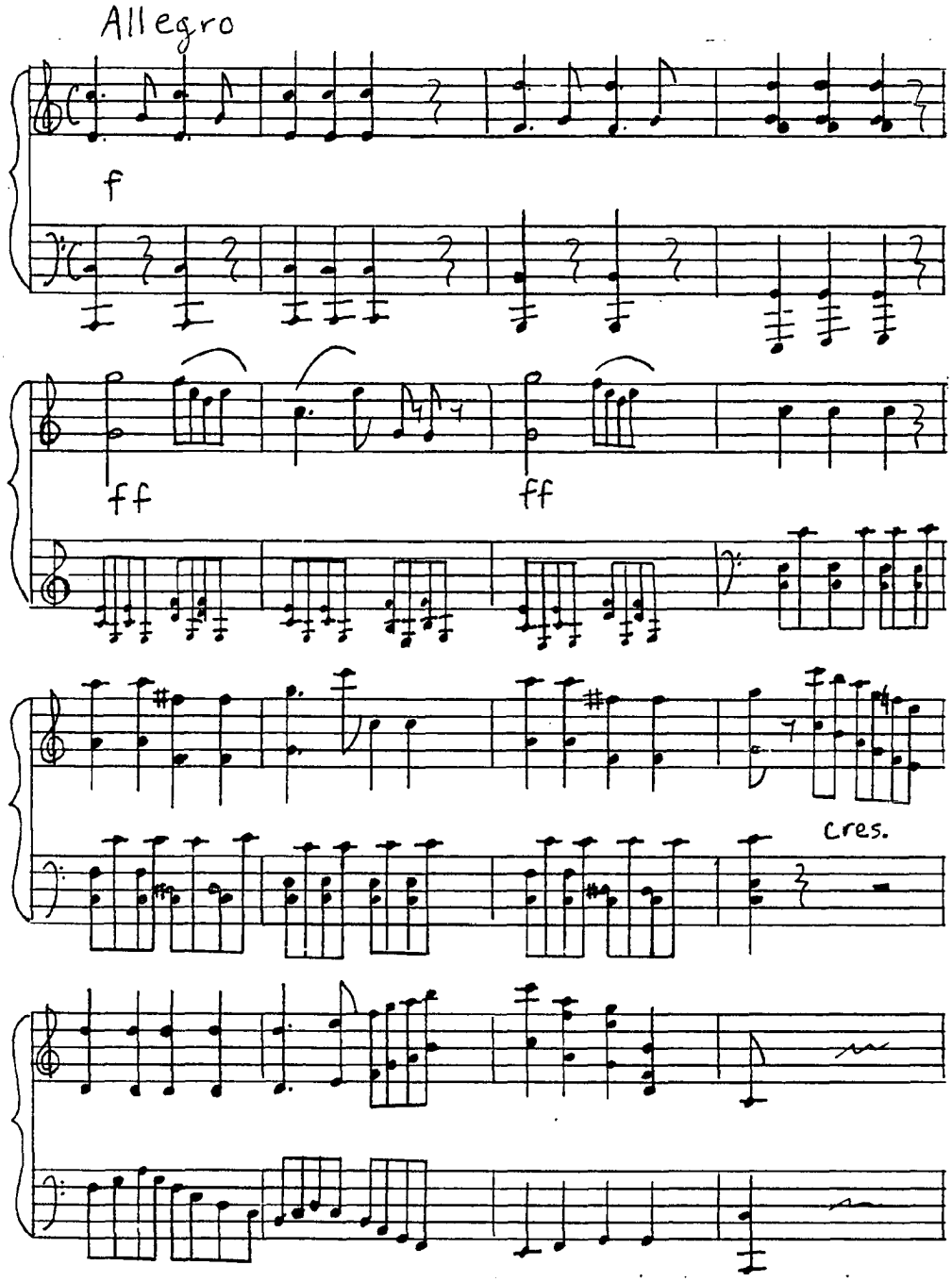
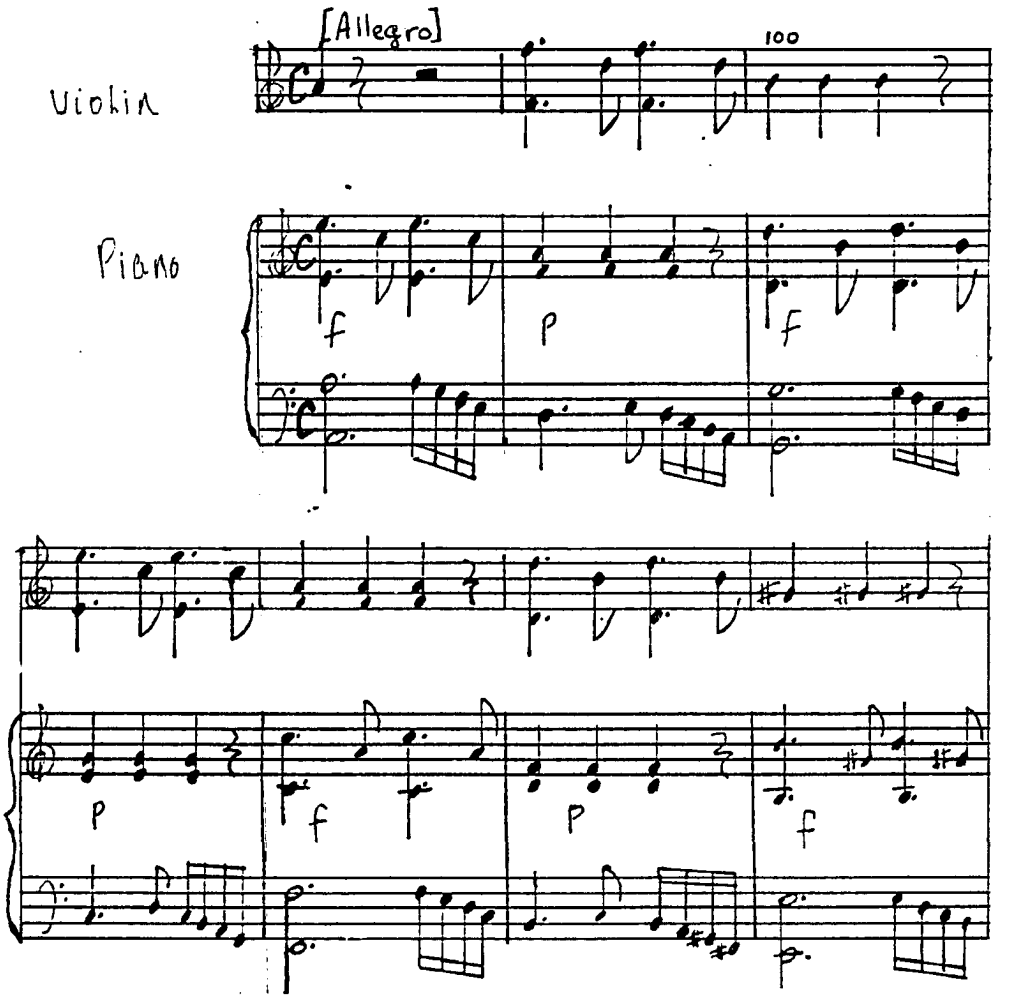
[12]Ibid., p. 123.



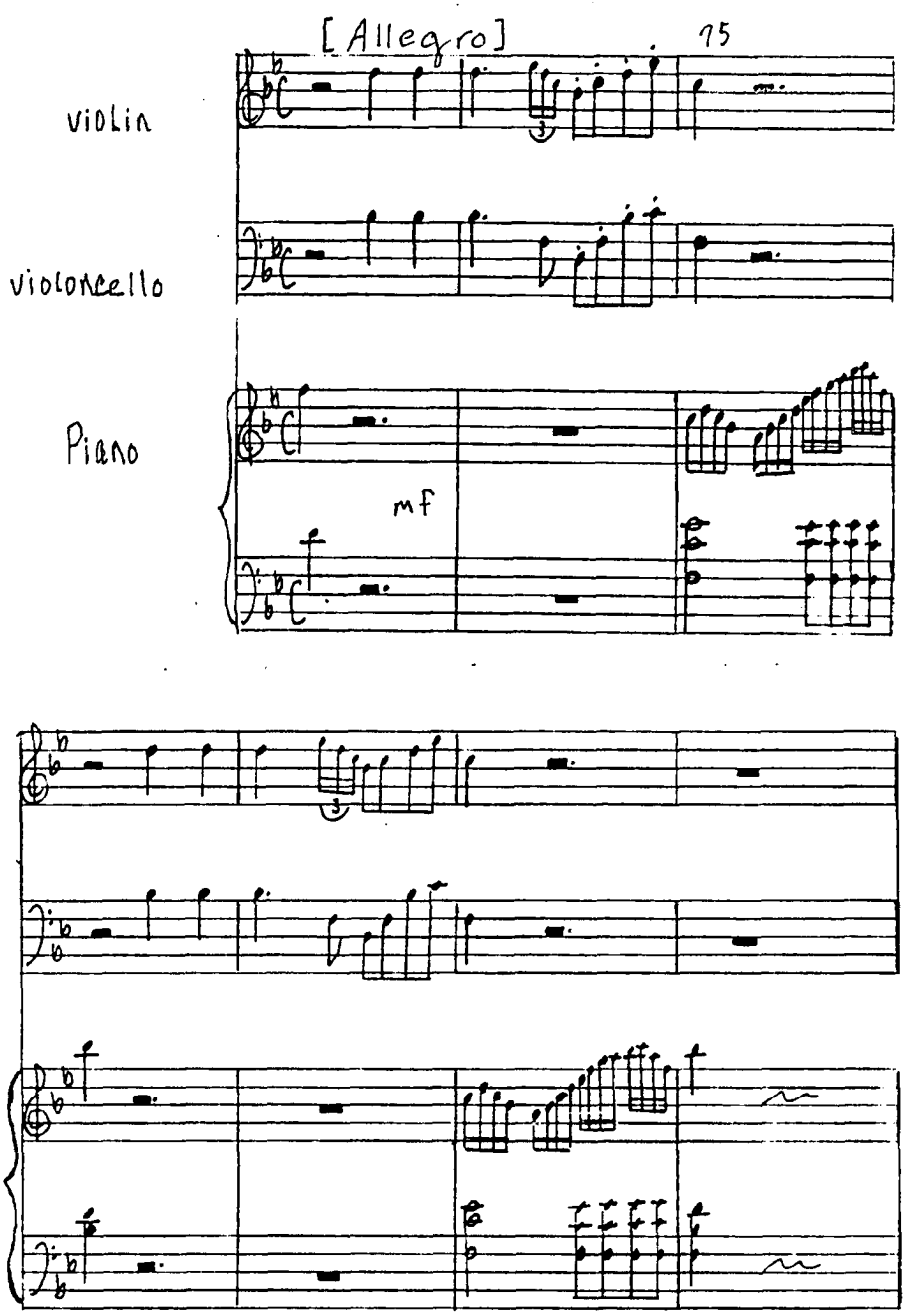
Example 12. Tomich, Sonata in C major op.1/III, first movement, piano part, measures 1-16.

interval of a second (example 13) which is, by the standard of the works included in this study, a countrapuntal tour de force.

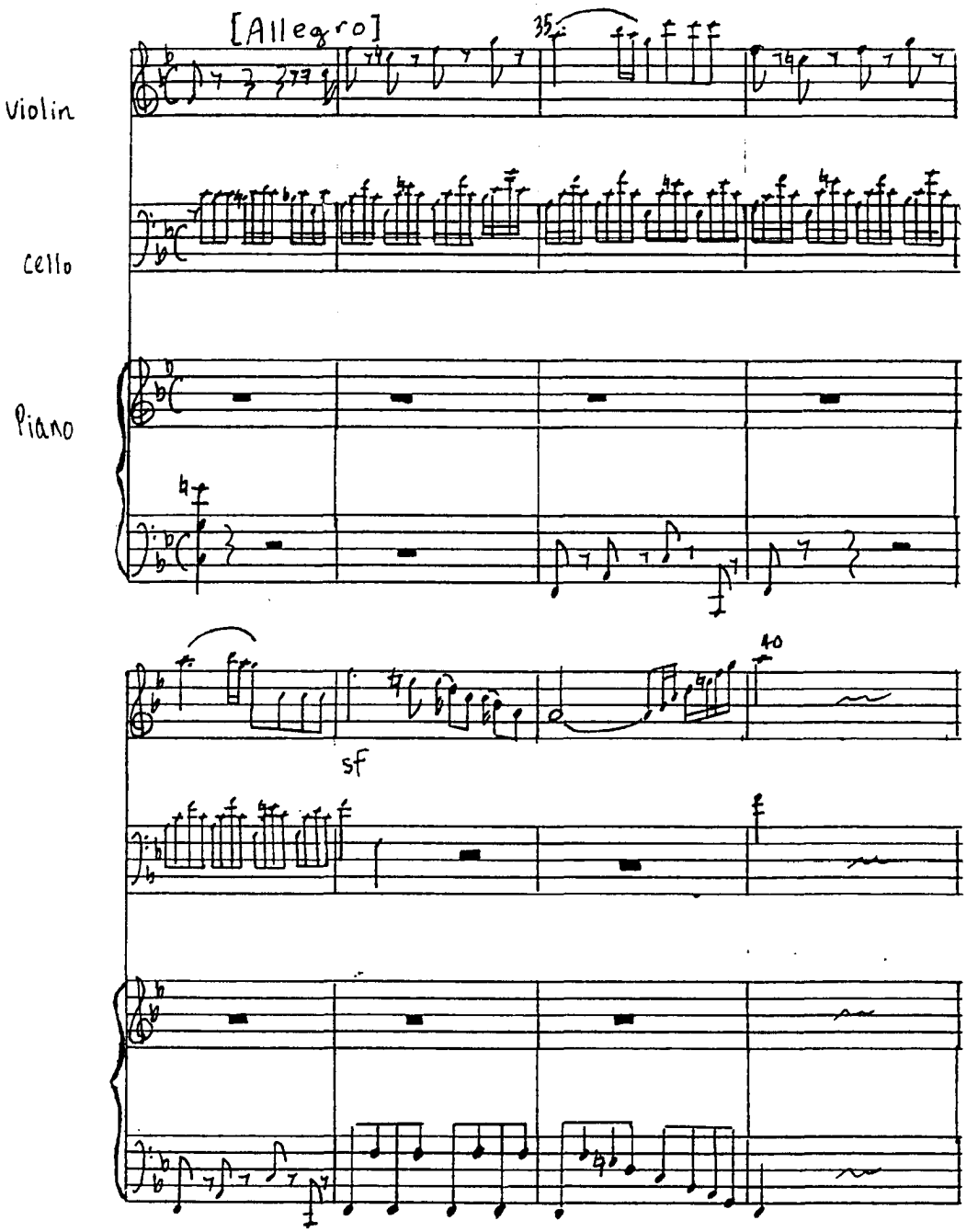


Example 13. Tomich, Sonata in C major op.1/III, first movement, piano and violin parts, measures 98-104.

Instances in which the cello part does anything besides reinforce the bass line of the piano are extremely rare in the works examined for this study. Rarer still are works in which the cello contributes almost equally in a well developed concertante style. In the works examined, the cello performs the latter role only in three sonatas op.30, by J. F. X. Sterkel. In the works of Sterkel it is observed that the cello is most often paired with the violin, either in alternation with the piano (example 14) or in an accompanying role, with the piano providing support in the bass (example 15).



Example 14. Sterkel, Sonata in B-flat major op.30/III, first movement, measures 73-80.



Example 15. Sterkel, Sonata in B-flat major op.30/III, first movement, measures 33-40.

CHAPTER VI

THE MOVEMENTS IN SONATA FORM

Movements in sonata form represent by far the largest category in the piano trios, accounting for 100 of the 232 individual movements, or 43 per cent. Because of recent changes in the way many theorists view sonata form and especially because of the increased reliance by modern scholars on the descriptions of eighteenth-century theorists, it is important to begin this chapter by defining sonata form more precisely.

Several recent discussions of sonata form have been based on the writings of eighteenth-century theorists.[1] Two studies which are important to this discussion are the writings of Leonard Ratner, whose work is based primarily

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[1]Leonard Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classical Form," Journal of the American Musicological Society 2 (1949): 159-168; Newman, Classic, pp. 19-42; Bathia Churgin, "Francesco Galeazzi's Description (1796) of Sonata Form," Journal of the American Musicological Society 21 (1968): 181-199; J. R. Stevens, "An 18th-Century Description of Concerto First-Movement Form," Journal of the American Musicological Society 24 (1971): 85-95; J. R. Stevens, "Theme, Harmony, and Texture in Classic-Romantic Descriptions of Concerto First Movement Form," Journal of the American Musicological Society 27 (1974): 25-60.

on the Essay on Practical Musical Composition (London, 1799) of August Kollman (1756-1829), and of William Newman, whose discussion centers in part on the Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition of Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816). The work of Kollman is especially important to this study of sonatas published in London during the 1790's because Kollman was active as a composer and performer in London during this period. Koch's writing is also important because it is primarily concerned with sonata form as it appears in the first movement of the symphony. Several of the works examined in this chapter appear to have been influenced by the symphonic writing of the late eighteenth century, as is described below.

Eighteenth-century theorists frequently refer to sonata form as a two-part structure that is fundamentally dependent on an established scheme of harmonic movement. Kollman's view is typical. According to Kollman, sonata form consists of two major sections, each of which is divided into two sub-sections. In the first sub-section a modulation is effected from the tonic key to the key of the dominant or relative major (if the tonic is minor). The second sub-section remains in the key of the dominant and cadences in that key. The third sub-section (i.e., the beginning of the second half) is characterized by

modulations to several different keys, while the fourth sub-section returns to the key of the tonic and restates all or part of the material presented in the first half.[2] Kollman does not seem to have considered the number, order, or degree of contrast of any themes to be an essential quality of sonata form, as is sometimes the case with "textbook" descriptions, although he apparently regarded the contrast of two key areas as paramount.

William Newman has drawn an important distinction between two and three-part sonata forms.[3] Although sonata form is acknowledged to have evolved from the binary dance form of the baroque era, many sonata forms give the impression of three-part structures due to an elongation of Kollman's third sub-section and because the return to the tonic key is frequently treated as a dramatic event rather than organic part of a continuous structure. This lengthening of the section following the double bar occurred during the late eighteenth century because as R. M. Longyear has written, "as a general rule, composers of this time felt that more musical time-space was needed to

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[2]Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classical Form," pp. 160-161.

[3]Newman, Classic, pp. 143-146.

return to the tonic than to leave it."[4]

Koch's description of sonata form emphasizes this tri-partite nature of the design more than Kollman's does.[5] According to Koch, sonata form consists of two parts, each of which may or may not be repeated. Koch subdivides these two parts not into four sub-sections, however, but into three "principal periods" (Hauptperiode). The first principal period, which includes what would be called in modern terminology the "exposition," presents the principal themes and modulates to the key of the dominant, to which the "second and larger half [of this period] is particularly devoted."[6] The second part of the sonata form is divided into two principal periods. The first of these uses thematic material from the first part, modulates through several keys, cadences in a related, usually minor, key, and modulates back to the key of the tonic. The second principal period of the second part begins in the key of the tonic with the primary theme from the first part or, less often,

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[4]R.M. Longyear, "Binary Varients of Early Classical Sonata Form," Journal of Music Theory 15 (1971): 167.

[5]Much of the following information is taken from J. R. Stevens, "An 18th-Century Description of Concerto First-Movement Form," pp. 86-87, which is based on Heinrich Christoph Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1793).

[6]Ibid., p. 86.

with some other theme, and re-states some or all of the material of the first part.

Koch also offers some important information concerning ways in which sonata form differs in the symphony as compared with the solo or ensemble sonata. According to Koch, these differences are: 1) the "newer symphonies" often have slow introductions, 2) the melodic ideas are more related to each other and "stream forth more compellingly" in the symphony, often not reaching a cadence until the beginning of the second tonal area, and 3) the melodic ideas are more extensive in the symphony.[7]

Recent writings on sonata form have tended to stress the harmonic aspects of the design, claiming, as Ratner has written, that the thematic approach of earlier writings "betrays a lack of historical perspective."[8] Both the former approach, which stresses the contrast of two key areas, and the latter, which emphasizes the contrast of two themes, appear to confuse the means with the end. The sonata form exposition is distinguished from the corresponding area in its evolutionary predecessor, the binary dance of the baroque era, neither by a particular

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[7]Newman, Classic, pp. 32-34.

[8]Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classical Form," p. 160.

scheme of harmonic movement nor, necessarily, by the degree of contrast of any thematic materials, but by the fact that two contrasting sections are established before the double bar. Harmony and melody are only two of several means which may be used to produce this contrast.

The Introductory Material

The introduction in sonata-form movements is described by Francesco Galeazzi in his Elementi theorico-pratici di musica (1796) as "nothing but a preparation for the true Motive of a composition."[9] Galeazzi's rules concerning introductions may be summarized as follows: 1) the introduction may begin in the key of the movement or in another key, 2) the introduction must cadence before the beginning of the first theme, and 3) the introduction should be recalled during the movement "so that it should not seem a detached section and be entirely separated from the rest."[10]

Laszlo Somfai has drawn a distinction between two

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[9]Chrugin, "Francesco Galeazzi's Description of Sonata Form," pp. 190-191.

[10]Ibid.

types of introductory material in the string quartets opp. 71 and 74 of Haydn which is also relevant for the music examined in this study. Somfai describes both what he terms the "non-integral" introduction, which conforms in general to Galeazzi's rules given above, and the "integral" introduction. The integral introduction forms a continuous structure with the beginning of the exposition, is in the same tempo as the exposition proper, and may be repeated during the course of the movement or may even provide material for development.[11]

Non-integral introductions are found in twelve of the sonata cycles examined.[12] Of these, all but one are introductions to the first movement of a cycle. The one exception is found in von Esch op.12/III/ii in the second movement of this three-movement cycle. The tempo of the movements preceded by these introductions is fast in all but the example by von Esch given above and one other by the same composer, op.12/II/ii.

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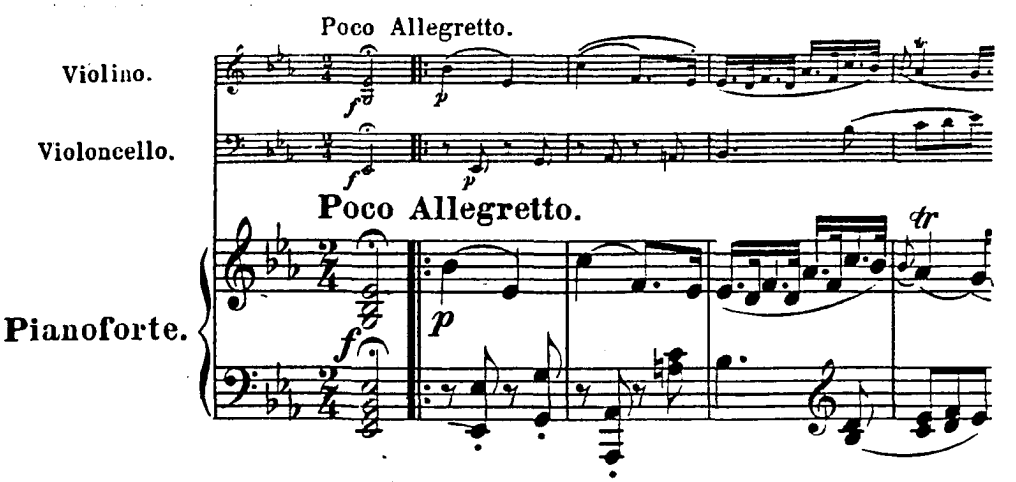
[11]Laszlo Somfai, "The London Revision of Haydn's Instrumental Style," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100 (1973-1974): 167-168.

[12]Clementi op.27/II/i, op.28/I/i, op.35/III, Dussek op.20/I/i, von Esch op.12/II/i, op.12/III/ii, Ferrari op. 11/III/i, Haydn XV:18/i, XV:21/i, XV:24/i, XV:29/i and Pichl op.26/I/i.

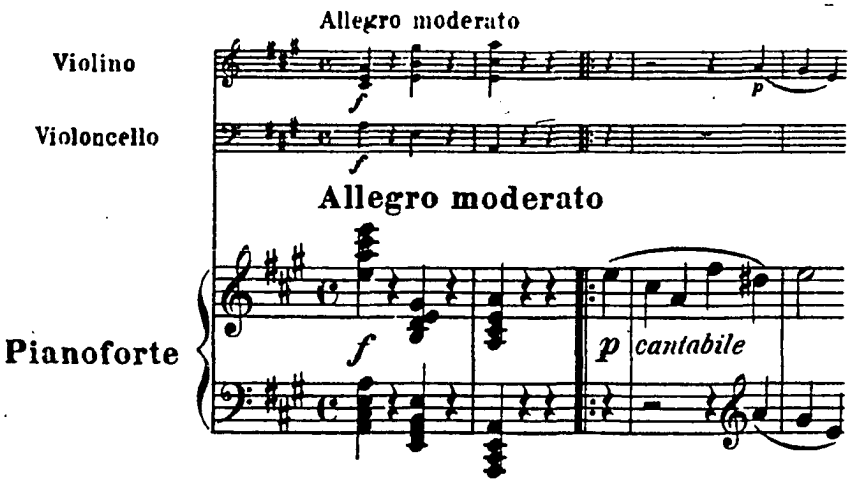
Two types of non-integral introductions can be described in the trios examined. First, what is referred to in chapter 2 as the "noise killer" type: an introduction consisting only of one or more loud chords placed before a double bar marking the beginning of the exposition. As described in chapter 2, this type is especially prominent in the works of Haydn, accounting for three of the four examples of non-integral introductions found in the selected works of that composer. One example of the "noise killer" type of introduction in Haydn's works is found in the first movement of Hoboken XV:29 (example 16).



Example 16. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major, Hob. XV:29, first movement, measures 1-3.

In this example the single chord, played forte by all of the instruments makes possible the piano entry of the

opening theme. It is notable that the introductory chord is not in the tempo of the opening material because of its indeterminate length. This characteristic is common in "noise killer" introductions. A somewhat more elaborate introduction is found in the first movement of Hoboken XV:18 (example 17).



Example 17. Haydn, Trio in A major, Hob. XV:18, first movement, measures 1-3.

This example is unique among the Haydn works having this type of introduction in that the opening chords are in the tempo of the exposition.

Aside from the works of Haydn, short chordal introductions are found only in two works by Louis von Esch, op.12/II/i and op.12/III/ii. These examples differ from the Haydn trios described above in that the tempo of the

movement proper is slow in both cases.

The second, and more common, type of non-integral introduction differs from those described above both in length and in its relationship to the exposition proper in terms of tempo and, occasionally, meter. Slow introductions are an often cited characteristic of the twelve "London" symphonies of Haydn, such introductions being found in all of these symphonies with the exception of symphony number 95. Perhaps in imitation of Haydn's successful usage of this device, slow introductions of the same basic type are found in seven of the twelve trios which have non-integral introductions.[13]

It is not surprising that composers of accompanied sonatas might imitate the symphonic style of Haydn. Certainly Haydn's symphonies were among his best known works during the late eighteenth century. Further, it is noted in chapter two that the London symphonies were even published in a transcription for piano, violin, and cello. A close relationship between Haydn's piano trios of the 1790's and his symphonies of the same era has been noted by Robbins Landon.

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[13]Clementi op.27/II/i, op.28/I/i, op.35/III, Dussek op.20/I/i, Ferrari op.11/III/i, Haydn Hob. XV:21/i, and Pichl op.26/I/i.

> How close the piano trios of this period are to the symphonies may be seen first, in their greatly increased tonal frame and expanded emotional content, compared with the generally insignificant earlier trios; and secondly, in the interesting circumstance that the second movement of Symphony No. 102 is identical with the slow movement of the F sharp minor Trio XV:26 . . . , where it is in F sharp major, a semitone above its key in the symphony.[14]

Despite Haydn's propensity for slow introductions in his late symphonies, only one of the late piano trios makes use of this type of device, Hob. XV:21. It is clear, then, that in at least this one respect, Haydn's less important contemporaries imitated his symphonic style rather than his accompanied sonata style in their own trios.

Although Haydn's contemporaries may have copied his use of the slow introduction, their imitations are somewhat superficial. Landon has observed that thematic relationships are common between the slow introductions of Haydn's symphonies and the fast sections which follow.[15] It is recalled that this characteristic is also mentioned by Galeazzi in his discussion of the introduction. None of the introductions by composers other than Haydn display any noticeable thematic relationship with the fast sections

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[14]H. C. Robbins Landon, The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn (London: Universal Edition and Rockliff, 1955) p. 565.

[15]Ibid., p. 575.

which follow.

Another way in which the composers of this study depart somewhat from the approach to the slow introduction found in the late symphonies of Haydn concerns the relationship between the meter of the introduction and that of the succeeding movement. In Haydn's symphonies after 1788 it has been observed that the same basic meter is used for the introductions and the movement following.[16] These metric relationships are as follows:

Symphony	Introduction	Movement proper
No.93	3/4	3/4
No.94	3/4	6/8
No.96	3/4	3/4
No.97	3/4	3/4
No.98	¢	¢
No.99	¢	C
No.100	¢	¢
No.101	3/4	6/8
No.102	¢	¢
No.103	3/4	6/8
No.104	C	¢

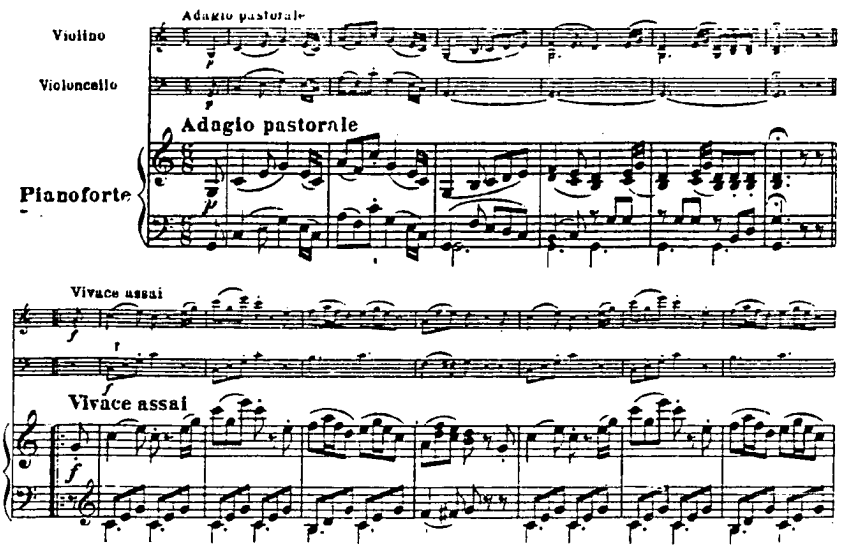
The metric relationships of the introductions and first movements of the works examined are less often the same as may be observed below:

Work	Introduction	Movement proper
Clementi op.27/II/i	2/4	6/8
Clementi op.28/I/i	3/4	3/4

[16] Ibid., p. 573.

Clementi	op.35/III	2/4	6/8
Dussek	op.20/I/i	4/4	4/4
Ferrari	op.11/III/i	2/4	3/4
Haydn	Hob. XV:21/i	6/8	6/8
Pichl	op.26/I/i	¢	4/4

One of the most unusual slow introductions in the works examined for this study is found in a Haydn work, Hob. XV:21, the first movement (example 18).



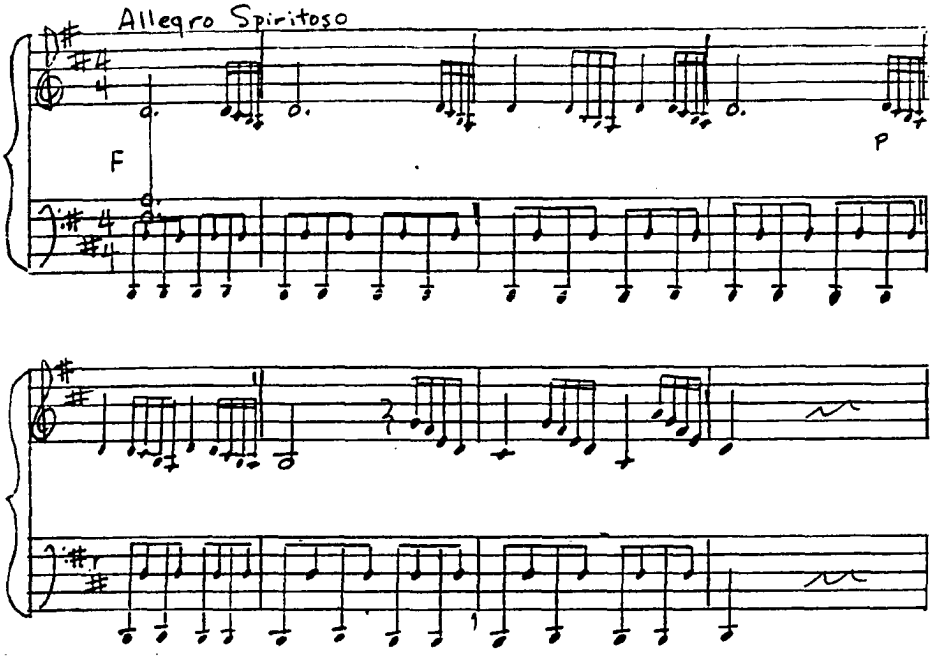
Example 18. Haydn, Trio in C major, Hob. XV:21, first movement, measures 1-13.

The slow introduction to this movement is only six measures in length, while the average length for slow introductions is seventeen measures. Hob. XV:21/i is also the only example of an introduction which exhibits some degree of thematic relationship with the following fast section.

Another non-integral introduction which should be mentioned but which has not been included in the tables and statistics given above is found in von Esch op.12/I/i. In this work a twelve-measure introduction which is followed by a double bar and has a tempo marking of Allegro moderato preceeds a movement marked Allegro assai. This is the only example found of a fast, non-integral introduction other than the "noise killer" introductions described above.

Introductory material which is described as integral may be divided into two categories. First, there are introductions which are several measures in length, are in the tempo of the movement proper, but are not followed by a double bar and do not end in a well articulated cadence. An example of this type is found in Mazzinghi op. 39/I/i (example 19). In this example the introductory character of the opening eight measures is clear, although this eight-measure section returns in the recapitulation in contrast to non-integral introductions which do not.

Among the works with integral introductions, only in the Mazzinghi example given below and a comparable example found in von Esch op.12/II/i is the introductory role of the opening material clear. More often the introductory material may just as well be considered to be

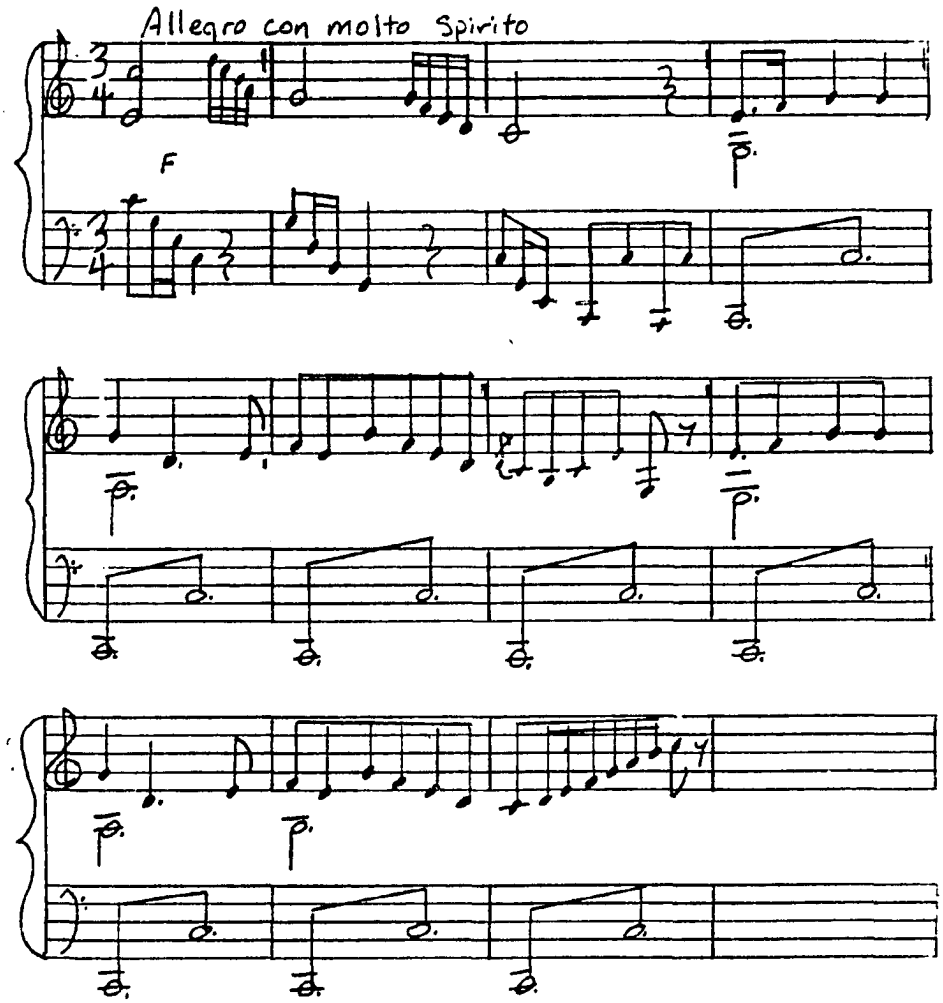


Example 19. Mazzinghi, Sonata in D major op.39/I, first movement, piano part only, measures 1-8.

a part of the first theme group. An example which illustrates this phenomenon is presented in the previous chapter as example 5. In this example, from Kozeluch op.48/III, the presence of a quatternary structure following the initial four-measure phrase would seem to weigh in favor of an analysis of this four-measure phrase as an integral introduction.

The line of reasoning used above can be used to justify the opening of another work, Clementi op.35/I/i,

as an integral introduction (example 20).

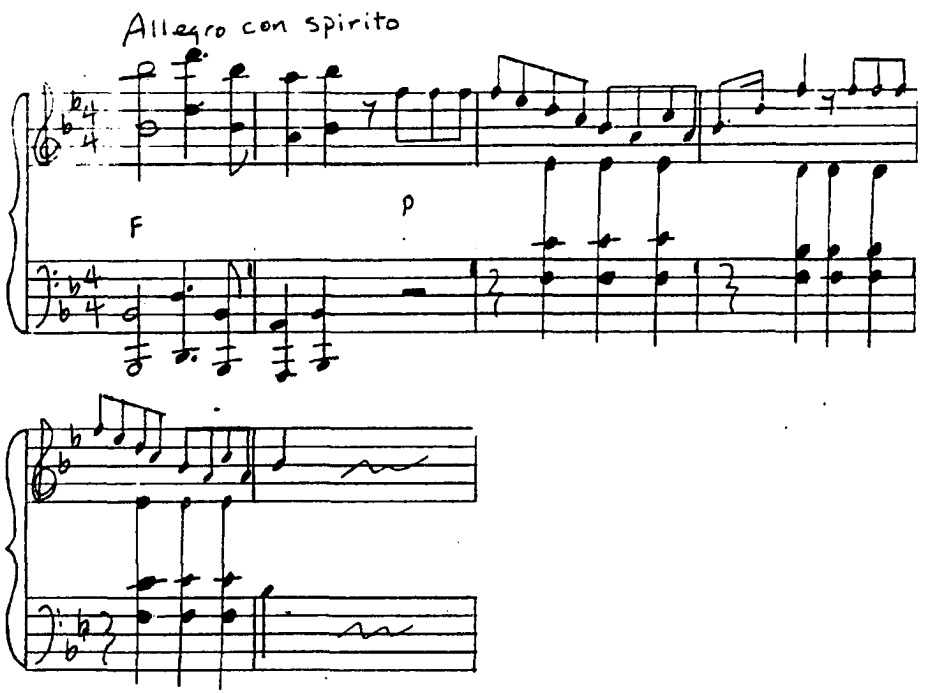


Example 20. Clementi, Sonata in C major op.35/I, first movement, piano part, measures 1-11.

In this example the initial three measures form an introduction for another type of formal structure, a binary

period, which follows. Repetitions of this period structure without the initial three measures during the course of the movement tend to confirm an analysis of this area as an introduction.

A number of other works have opening material which is clearly a part of the first theme group but which serves the same function as an introduction. An example of this is seen in Gyrowetz op.9/II/i (example 21).



Example 21. Gyrowetz, Sonata in B-flat major op.9/II, first movement, piano part, measures 1-12.

In this example the powerful unison statement, which opens the movement in a manner similar to the symphonic writing

of this period, serves the same function as the chordal, non-integral introductions of Haydn: it prepares the way for the piano entrance of the thematic material which follows.

The Expositions

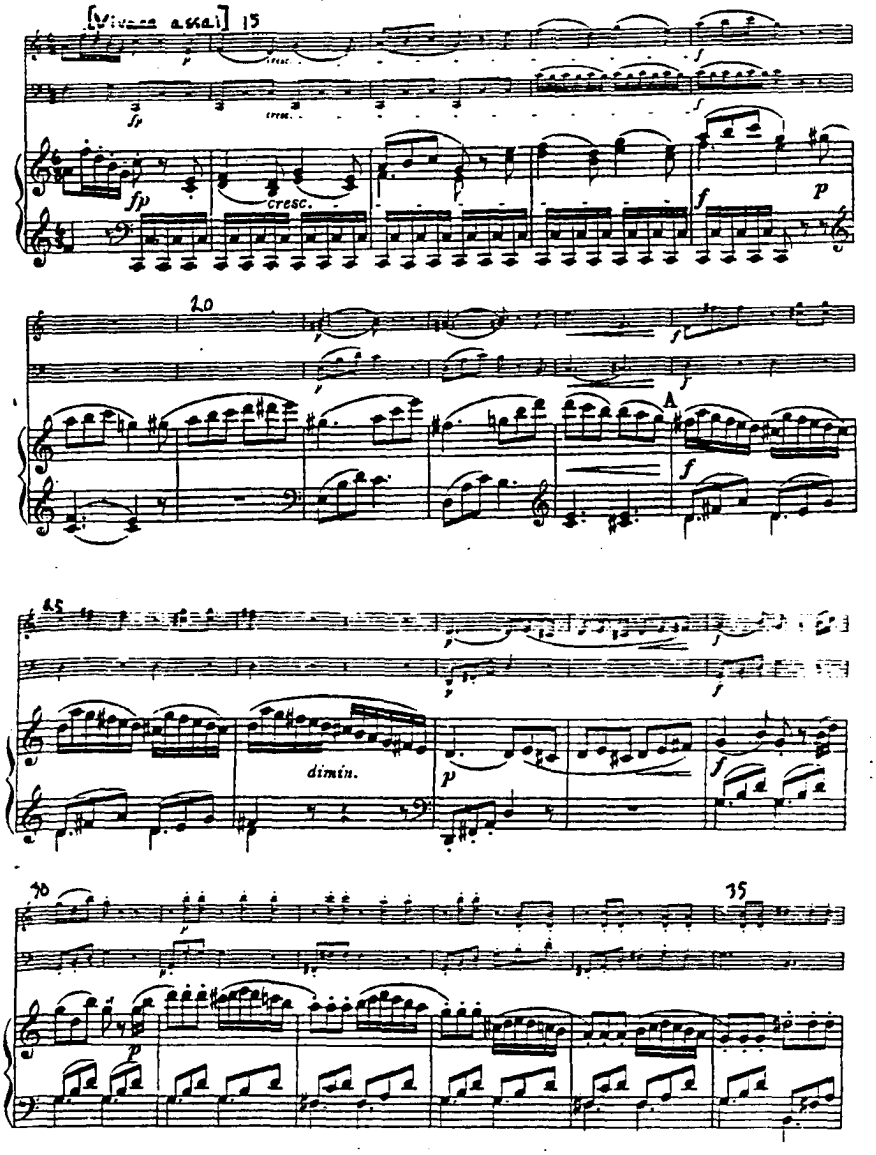
If the presence of two contrasting sections is the most important feature of the exposition, then the most significant matters for discussion would include those factors which contribute most to the perception of these two sections, especially harmony, melody, and texture. Unquestionably, harmonic movement is the primary source of contrast in the expositions of the sonata-form movements. All of the expositions contain two large key areas, and in all but one case the second area is either the key of the dominant (if the tonic is major) or the relative major (if the tonic is minor). The one exception is found in the second movement of a trio by Haydn, Hob. XV: 26 in F-sharp major, in which the second tonal area is A major, the key of the lowered mediant.

Although the sonata-form movements examined share a common scheme of harmonic movement with the binary dance form of the Baroque, they differ greatly in the way

in which this second tonal area is approached. In the Baroque dance the modulation to the related key area is an organic part of a continuous structure, while in the fully developed sonata form of the late eighteenth century this modulation is achieved by means of a special transition section. The transition plays a central role in creating the perception of two harmonically contrasting sections in at least two ways: 1) it has been found that the transition usually ends in the strongest cadence, up to that point, in the exposition, and 2) the harmonic coloring and tonal instability of the transition often serve to intensify the arrival at the related key area.

The transitions in the bulk of the trios are simple and direct in their approach to the related key area, either modulating to the related key or remaining in the tonic and ending in a half cadence. A number of other works, however, employ more complex arrangements which may be divided into three categories.

The most common of these categories includes transitions which modulate to the dominant key but then either modulate one step further, to the key of the dominant of the dominant, or end in a half cadence in the dominant key. An example of this procedure is found in the first movement of Haydn Hob.XV:21 in C major (example 22). The

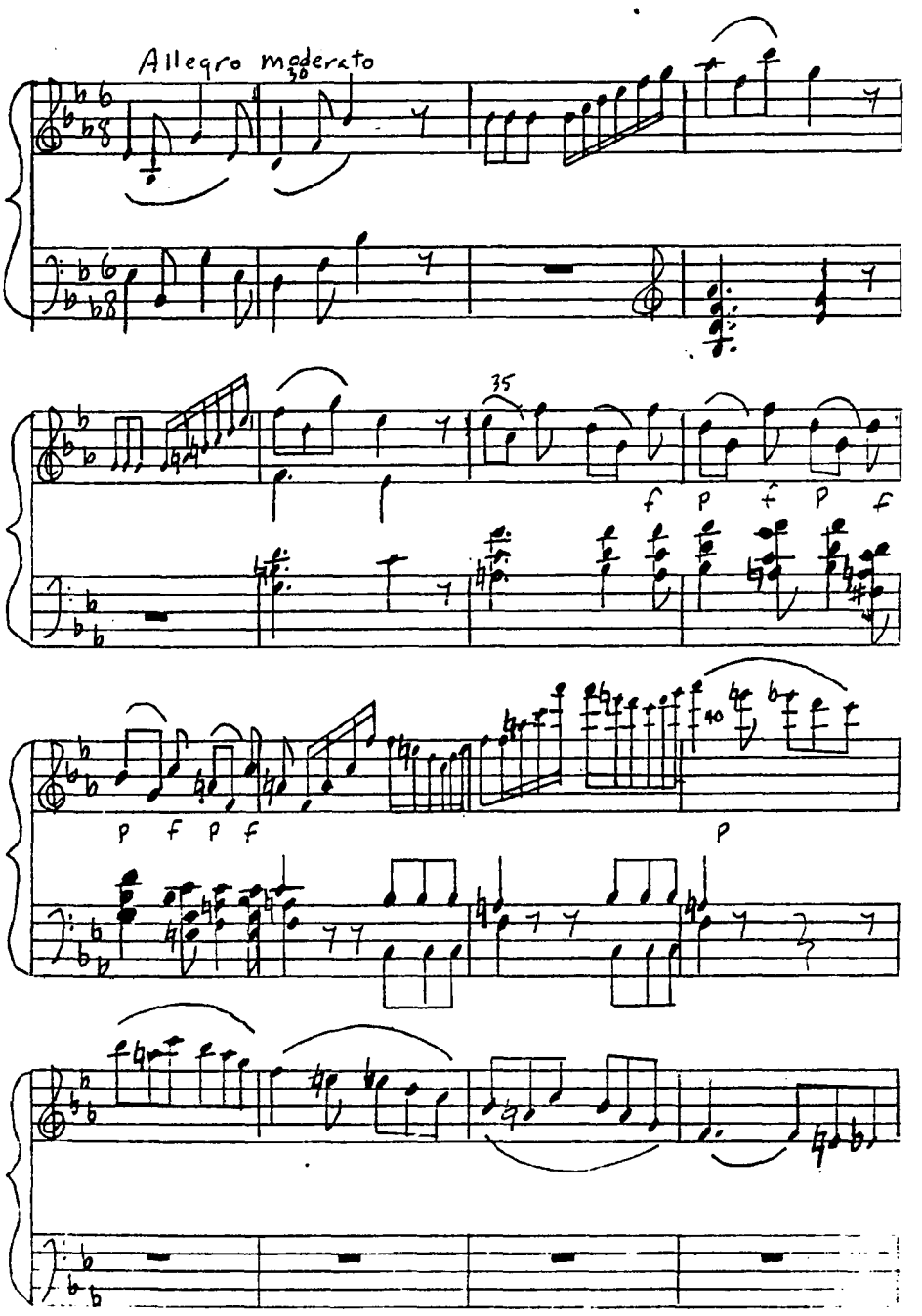


Example 22. Haydn, Trio in C major Hob. XV:21, first movement, measures 14-35.

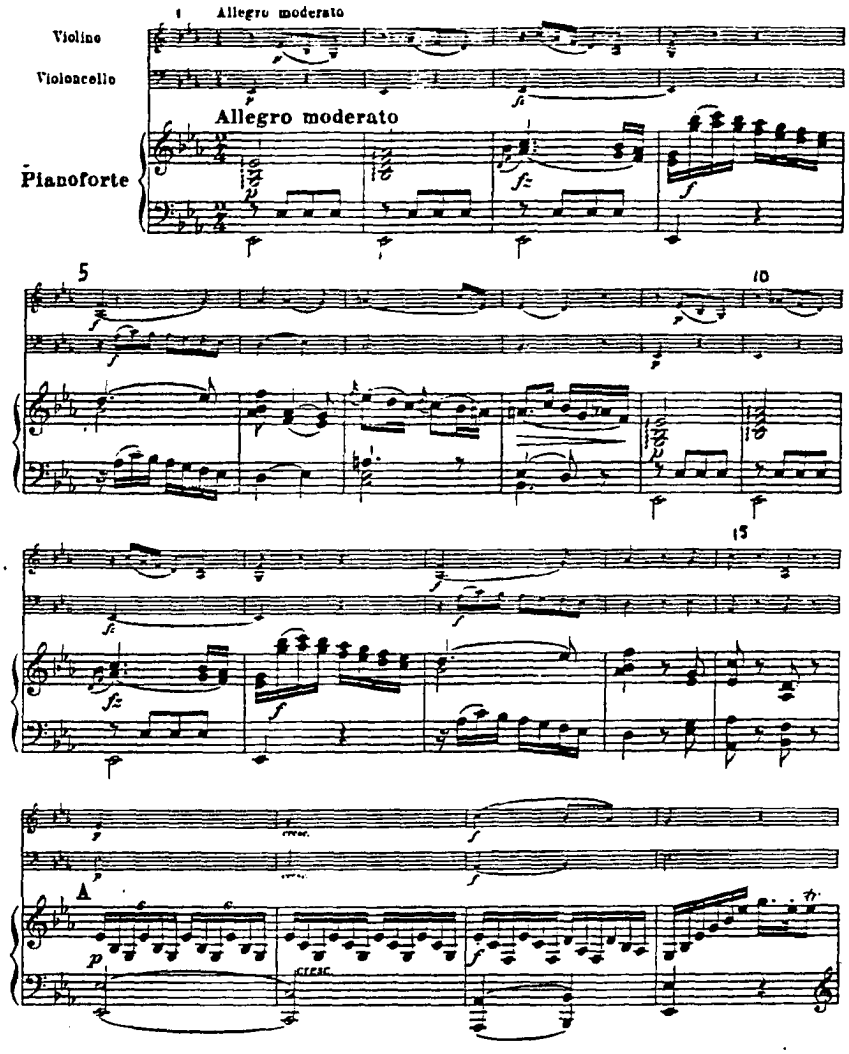
increased harmonic tension created by a further step in the modulation process is especially useful in sonata forms like Hob.XV:21/1 in which thematic contrast between the tonic and related key areas is at a minimum.

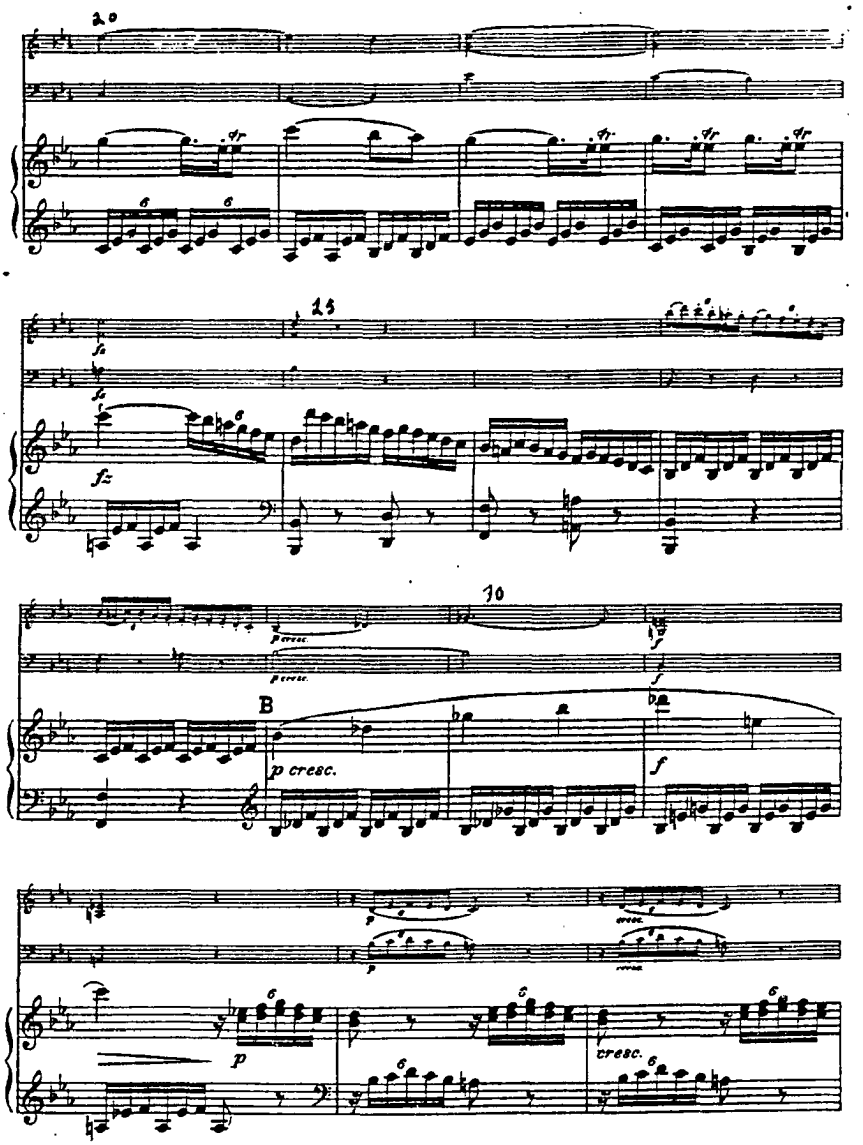
Some of the transitions examined make a still more complicated approach to the related key area. In a small number of sonata forms there is not only a modulation beyond the key of the dominant but a return to the dominant key before the beginning of the second tonal area. Such is the case in Gyrowetz op.9/III/i (example 23). In this example the dominant key of B-flat major is reached by measure 35, and the dominant of the dominant, F major, by measure 37. The appearance of $\underline{e}^{b}$, however, beginning in measure 40 suggests a return to the dominant key.

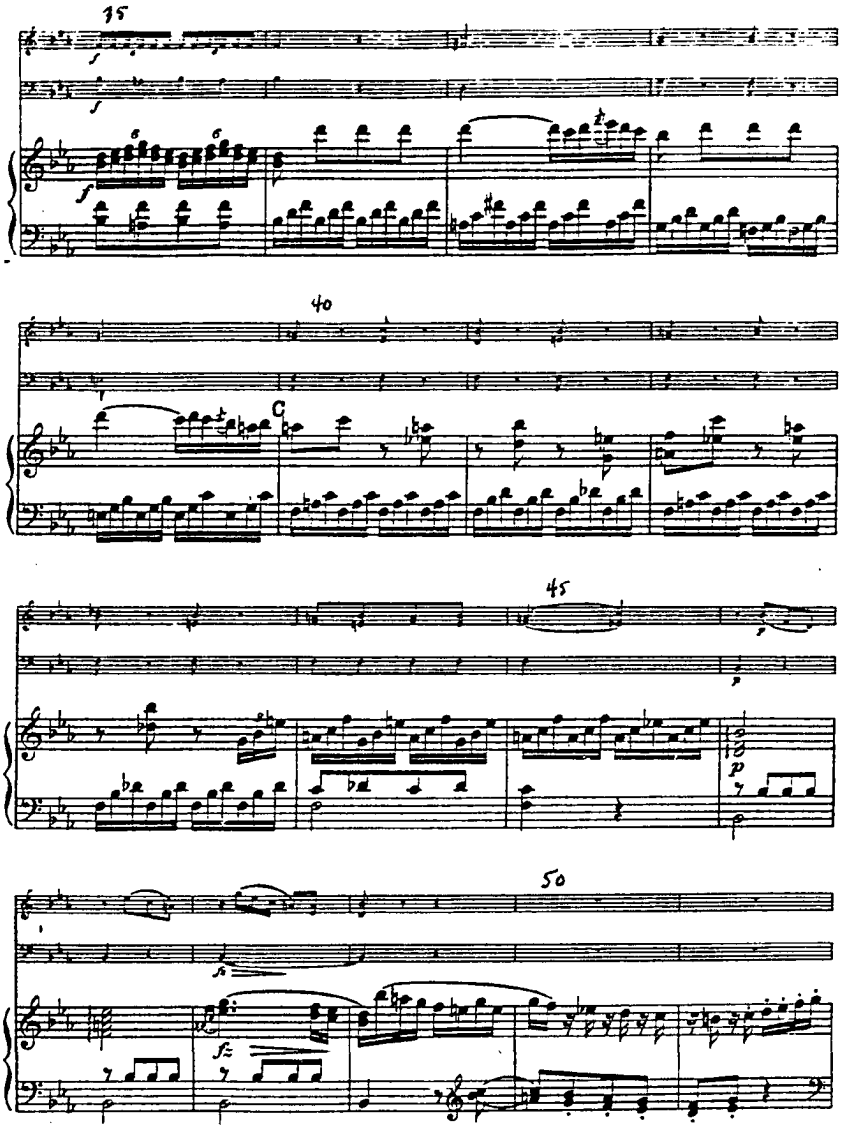
The most complex transitions examined modulate not only to the key of the dominant of the dominant but to more remote keys as well. The first movement of Haydn Hob.XV:22 in E-flat major contains an interesting example of this type (example 24). In example 24 it is observed that the dominant key is established at measure 25. Beginning in measure 29, however, there is a reference to the key of the minor dominant, B-flat minor, which, while not constituting a modulation to that key, nevertheless provides striking harmonic coloring. References to the minor dominant



Example 23. Gyrowetz, Sonata in E-flat major, op.9/III, first movement, piano part, measures 29-44.





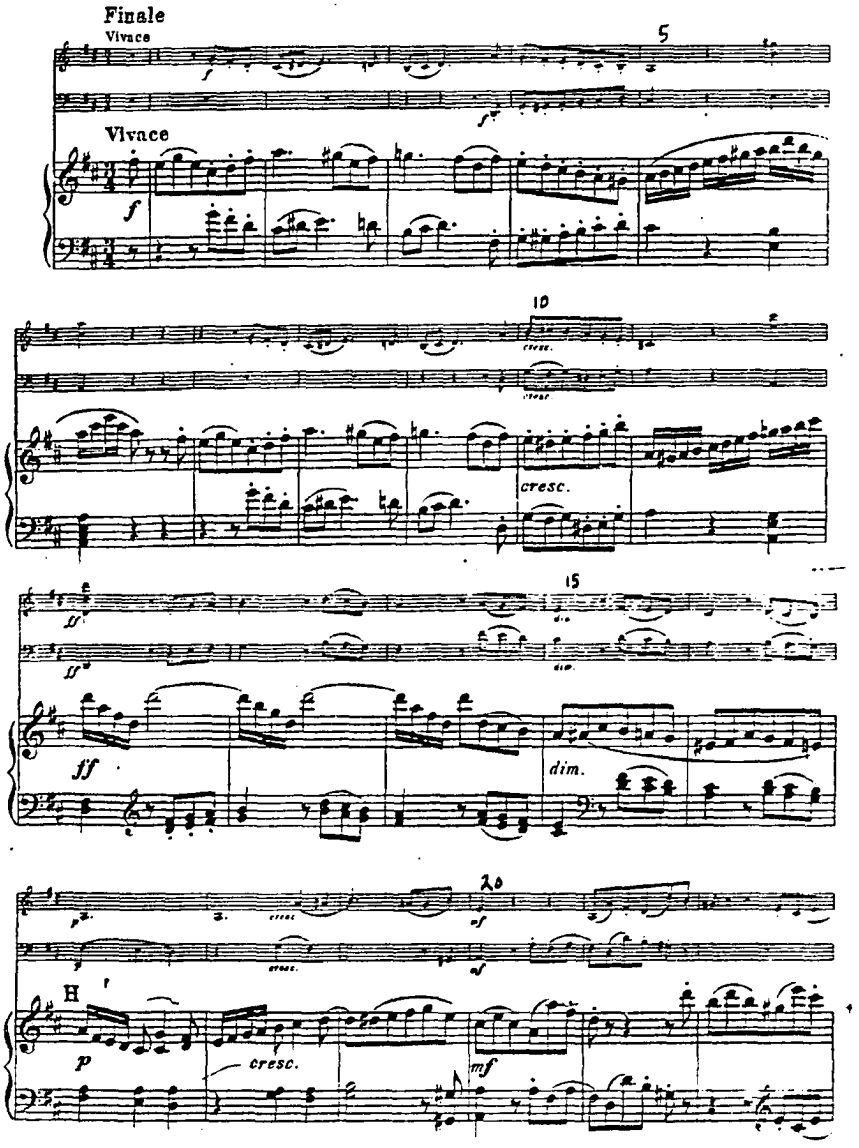


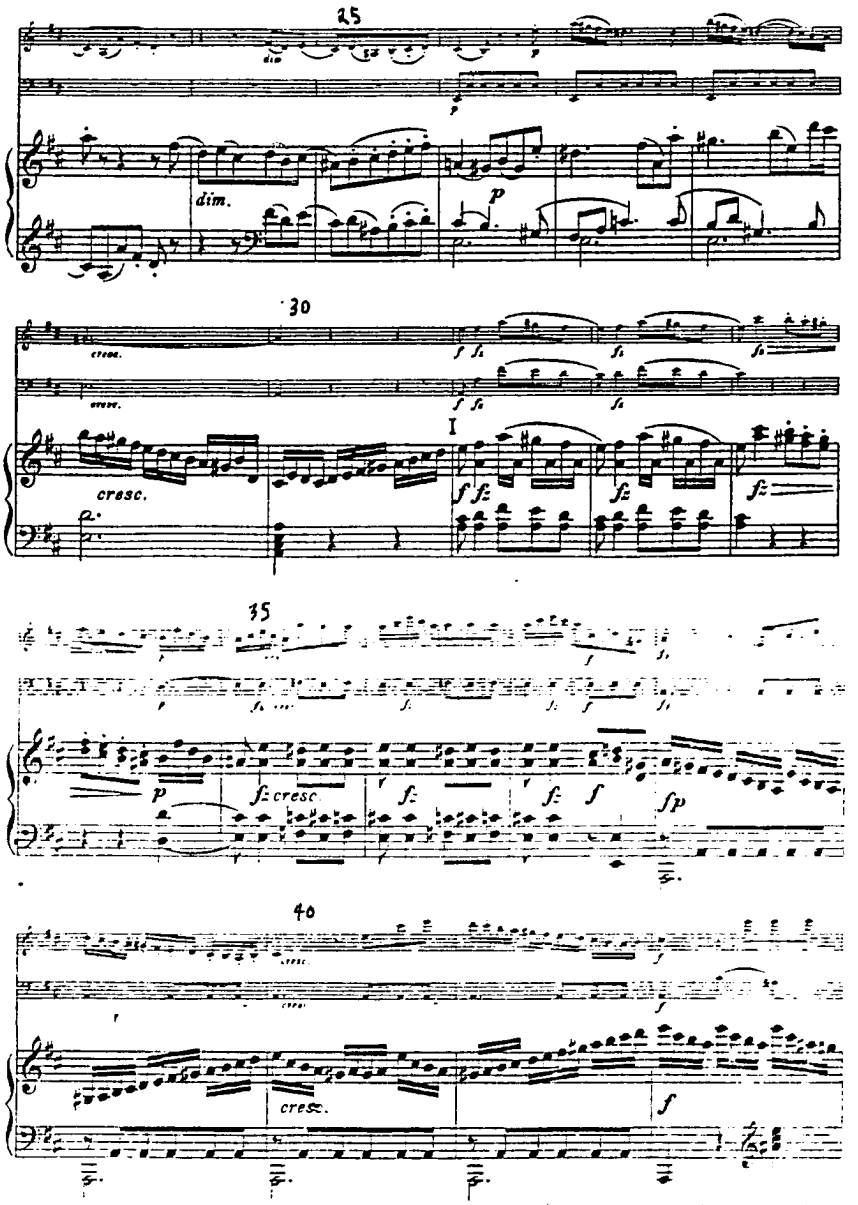
Example 24. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major Hob. XV:22, first movement, measures 1-51.

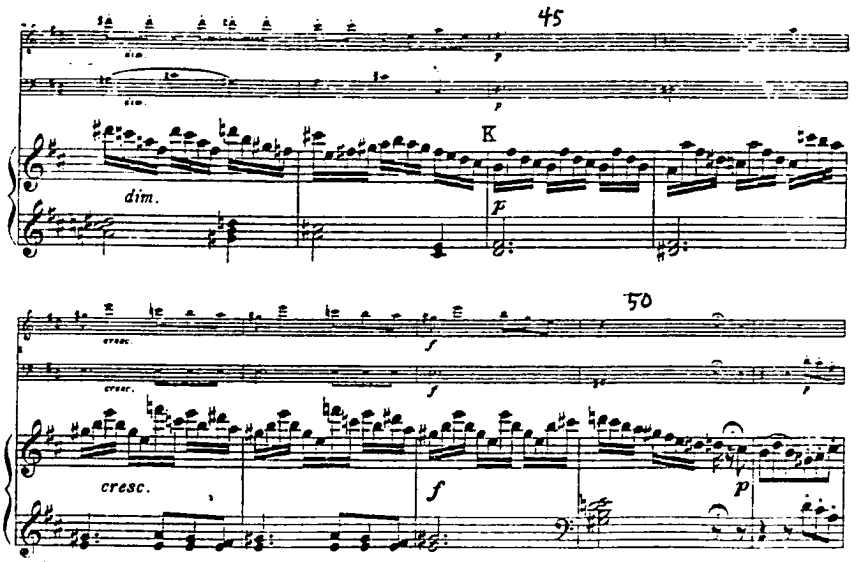
are also observed beginning at measure 41. As in the case of Hob.XV:21/1, the transition of XV:22/1 modulates to the dominant of the dominant (measure 44) before ending, as in the Gyrowetz example above (example 23), on a dominant seventh chord in the key of the dominant.

When factors related to tonality are considered, the transition sections in Haydn's works have been found to be the most innovative of the works studied. A similar situation obtains when most other factors are considered. That the transition in Haydn's sonata forms takes on a special importance is evident when the length of these sections is observed. In Hob.XV:22/1, for example, the transition is thirty measures long and by far the largest single component of the exposition (measures 16-45).

It is observed that long transitions in Haydn's sonata forms frequently occur when there is little contrast between the thematic materials of the tonic and related key areas. The transitions in these works serve to isolate these two areas in an apparent effort to avoid monotony. In extreme cases the transitions in Haydn's sonata forms can exceed the combined length of both thematic areas. An example of this practice can be observed in the third movement of Hob.XV:23 (example 25).







Example 25. Haydn, Trio in D minor Hob.XV:23, third movement, measures 1-50.

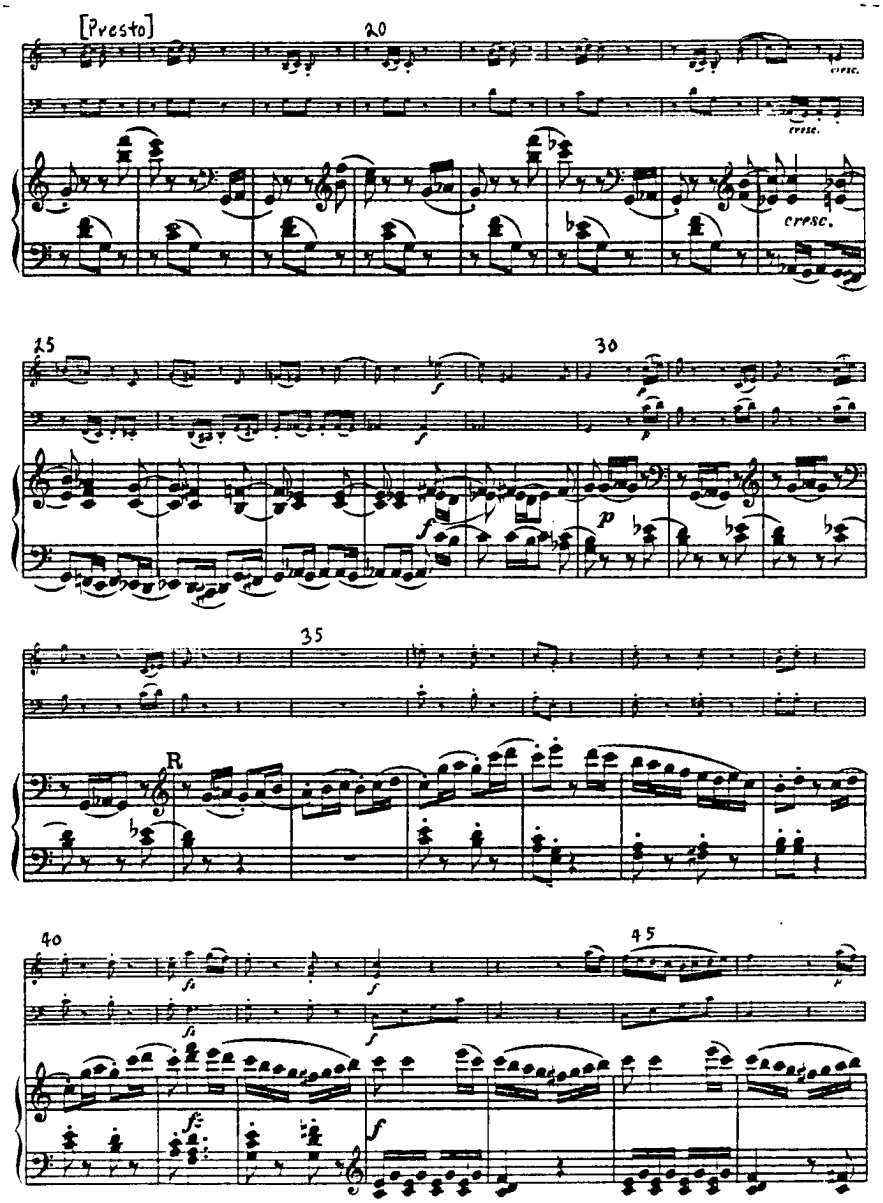
In example 25 the transition begins at measure 12 and continues until measure 50. As is common in sonata forms by Haydn which contain long transition sections, the opening theme is then partially restated in the key of the dominant, playing the dual role of second theme and closing theme.

Another way in which Haydn's transition sections differ from those of most of the other composers is in the extent to which they tend to develop thematic materials initially presented in the tonic area. This development frequently takes the form of passagework suggested by certain motives from the tonic area which usually retain

their aural identity however radically they may be altered. A more formalized approach is observed in example 25 beginning at measure 20. Here the opening motive is developed through imitation. In a more unusual example, the third movement of Hob.XV:27, a small development section is interpolated into the exposition beginning at measure 17 (example 26). Although the development of thematic materials may occur at any point in a sonata form by Haydn, example 26 is unique among the trios studied in its length and tonal instability.

Aside from harmonic considerations, the most common means of providing contrast between the two sections of the sonata form expositions is the use of contrasting thematic materials. This is one of the few means of creating contrast that is used by Haydn less frequently than by the other composers. In the majority of Haydn's sonata forms, approximately 60 per cent, the thematic materials of the related key area seem to be derived from the tonic section. The corresponding figure for the works of the other composers is only 14 per cent.

The composer whose approach to the use of thematic materials most closely resembles Haydn's is Clementi. In eight of the fifteen sonata forms by Clementi the melodic material of the related key area appears to be derived

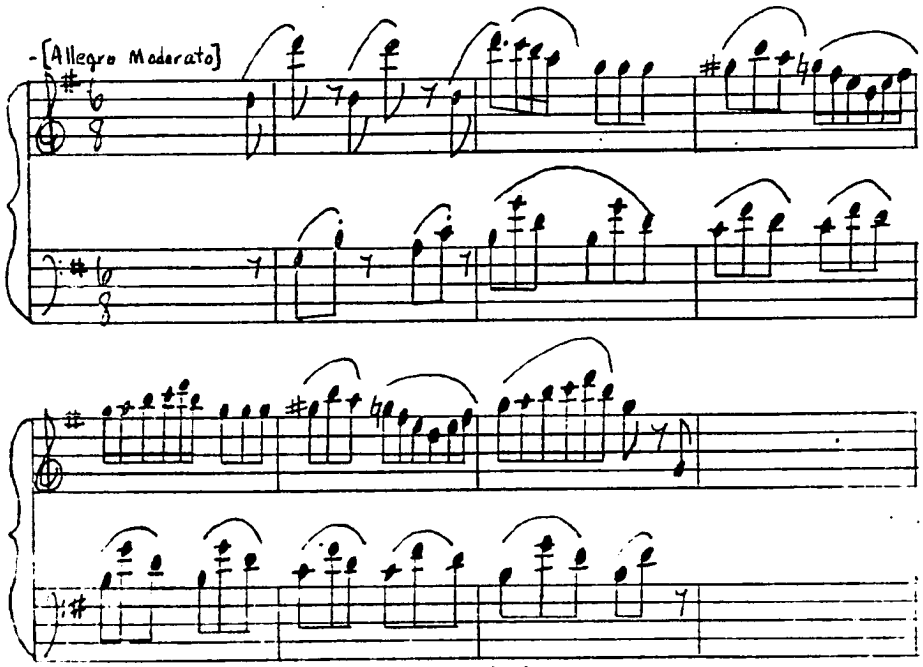


Example 26. Haydn, Trio in C major Hob. XV:27, third movement, measures 17-46.

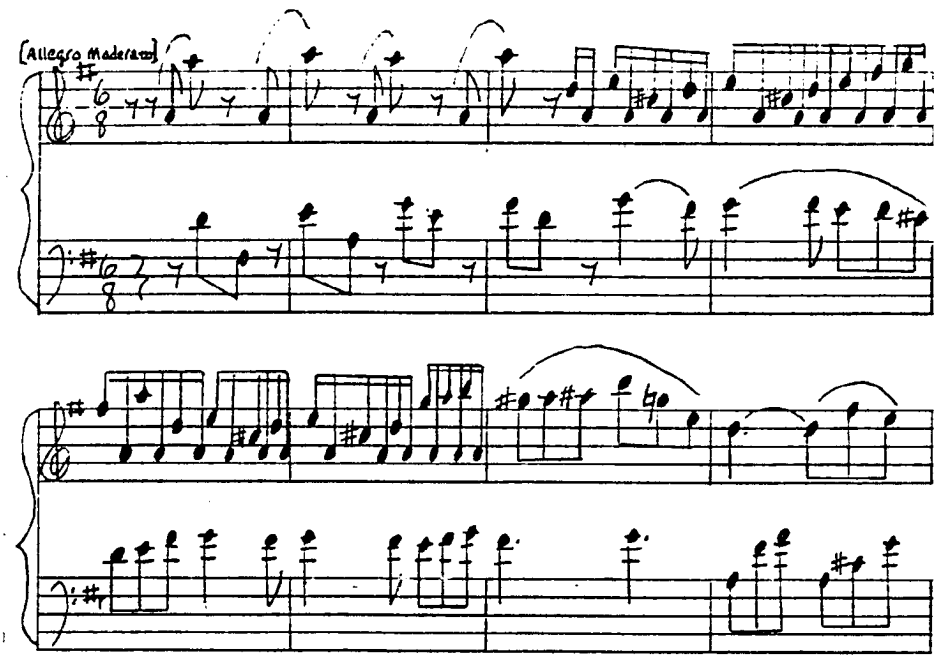
from that of the tonic section. In none of the sonata forms of Clementi is there a literal repetition of the opening theme in the second tonal area, although in op.29/III/ii most of the opening theme is so treated.

The second thematic areas of Clementi's sonata forms often begin with the initial motive of the opening theme which is then followed by new material. An example of this process may be observed in a comparison of the tonic and related key areas of the first movement of op.29/II (examples 27 and 28). Some of the second themes in Clementi's sonata forms are based entirely on the opening motive of the first theme, as may be observed in op.27/III/i (examples 29 and 30). In spite of the fact that the keyboard trios of Clementi are not among the composer's better works, as stated in chapter 3, this concentration on the motive as the building block of thematic material, a trait Clementi shares with Haydn, reveals that he is a composer of greater stature than many of those whose works have been examined.

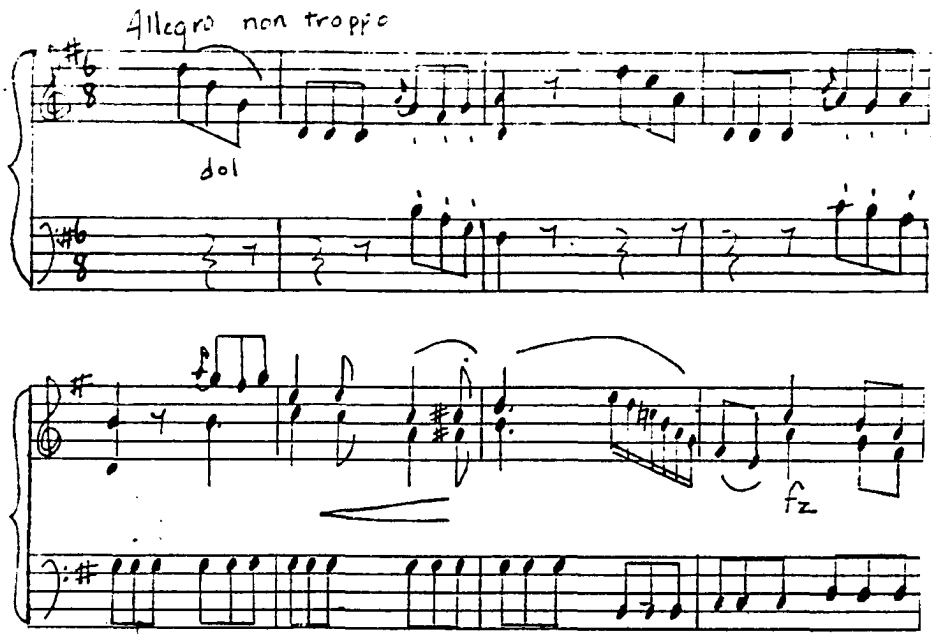
One aspect of the thematic materials of the second tonal area which has received relatively little attention in other studies of sonata form is the level of organization of this area in relation to that of the first theme. The related key area is less frequently organized into



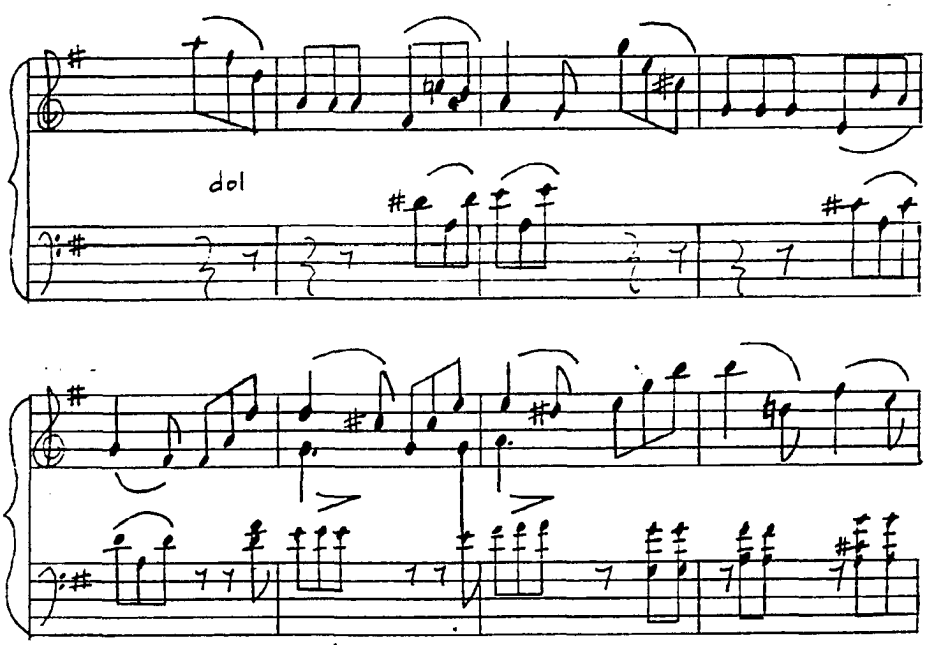
Example 27. Clementi, Sonata in G major op.29/II, first movement, piano part, measures 1-6.



Example 28. Clementi, Sonata in G major op.29/II, first movement, piano part, measures 29-36.



Example 29. Clementi, Sonata in G major op.27/III, first movement, piano part, measures 1-7.



Example 30. Clementi, Sonata in G major op.27/III, first movement, piano part, measures 21-28.

stereotyped formal patterns than the tonic area. It has been found that approximately 39 per cent of them may be classified as either periodic structures, using the admittedly narrow definition of the period given in chapter 5, or quatternary structures. Only around 20 per cent of the second themes fall into these categories, periodic structures accounting for 16 per cent and quatternary structures, 4 per cent.

Beyond the figures given above, an important difference between the themes of these two areas is apparent. In many of the first themes which have not been classified as period structures because they are asymmetrical, the asymmetry is usually the result of an extension of one of the two phrases, nearly always the second one. In the related key area, on the other hand, the thematic materials are often either asymmetrical by design or are not ordered in phrases at all but in a type of Fortspinnung. An example of this type of second theme is observed in the first movement of Pleyel Ben.469 (example 31).

Studies of sonata form have frequently attributed "masculine" and "feminine" qualities to the first and second themes of the exposition respectively.[17] As most

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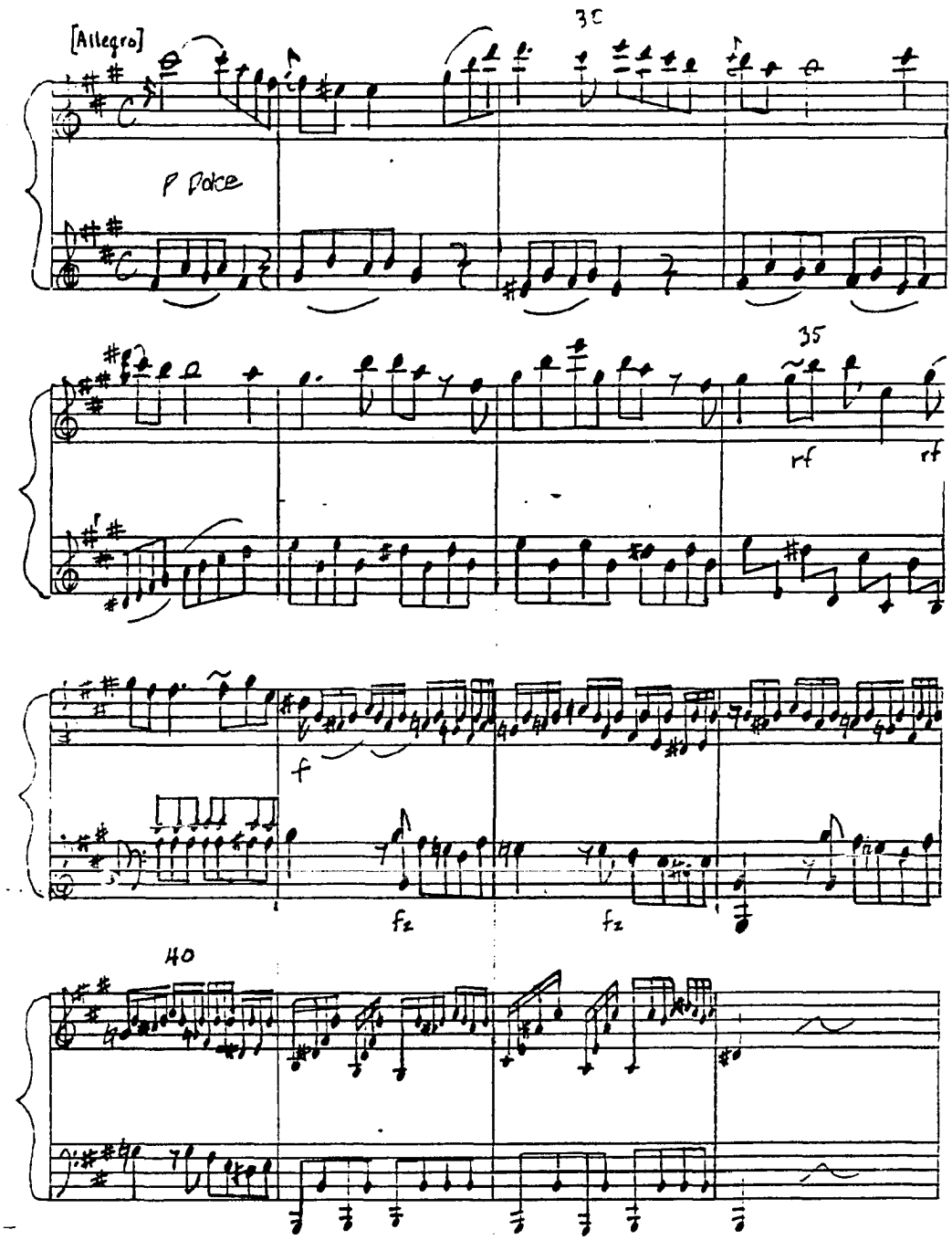
[17]Newman, Classic, p. 153.



Example 31. Pleyel, Sonata in A major Ben.466, first movement, piano part, measures 28-43.

writers point out, these subjective qualities are by no means universal in sonata form. A more comprehensive view of the relationship between these two thematic areas is that they represent the Appolonian--Dionysian opposition described by Friedrich Nietzsche, that of order versus freedom.[18]

The melodic materials of the second tonal area also tend to be different from those of the tonic in the way in which they are orchestrated. As William Newman has observed in his study of the accompanied sonata, the violin is most likely to present melodic material in a solo role in areas in which the greatest novelty might ordinarily be expected, such as the episodes of a rondo form.[19] It is not surprising, then, that in the sonata forms the violin presents solo material three times more often after the modulation to the related key than it does in the tonic area.

In the concertante type of sonata (those listed in categories 3 and 4 of chapter 5) the piano and violin usually alternate in the presentation of melodic material at the phrase level throughout the exposition. In the remaining works in which the violin presents melodic

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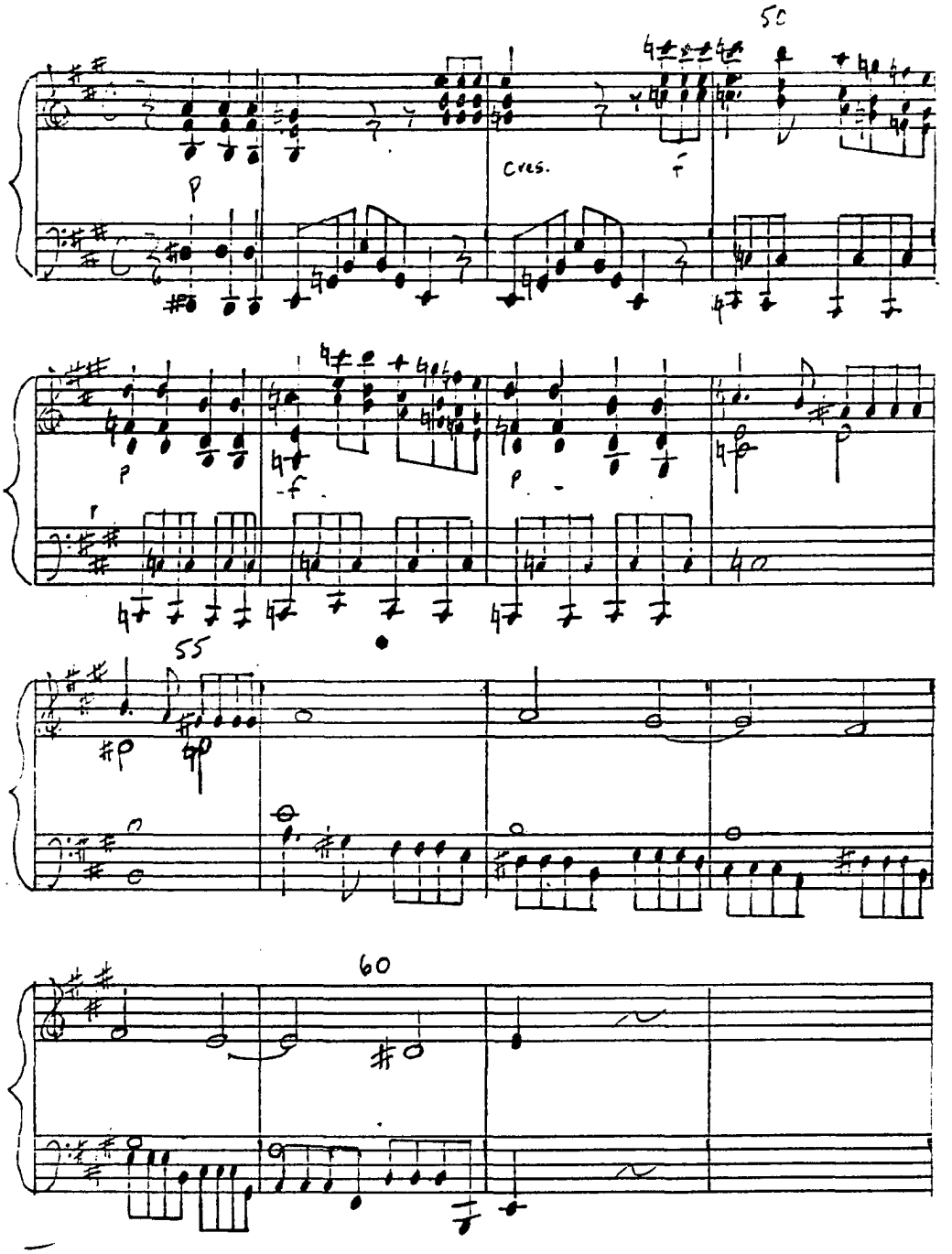
[18]Friedrich Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy and the Genealogy of Morals, trans. Francis Golffing (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1956), pp. 1-146.

[19]Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," p. 346.

material (those in category 2), however, the piano and violin often alternate on the sectional level. It has been found that in nearly half of the works which have indispensable violin parts the piano has the leading role throughout the tonic area while the violin leads throughout the second tonal area.

One final aspect of the expositions which should be discussed concerns the material which follows the second theme, the closing material. Although there seems to be general agreement among eighteenth-century theorists that the related key, once established, is maintained through the exposition, some theorists allow the possibility of references to other keys as long as there is an immediate return to the related key. In 10 per cent of the sonata forms there are temporary excursions to other keys. The most remarkable aspect of these modulations is the choice of key, the most common tonality being that of the flatted mediant. References to the lowered mediant are found in the closing sections of four works: Haydn Hob.XV:22/1, Gyrowetz op.9/I/i, Gyrowetz op.14/II/i, and Pleyel Ben.447 /i. Of these examples the earliest is probably Gyrowetz op.9/I/i, which was written around 1790 (example 32). In this example there is first a reference to E minor, the minor dominant (measure 48) and then a reference, which does



Example 32. Gyrowetz, Sonata in A major op.9/I, first movement, piano part, measures 47-61.

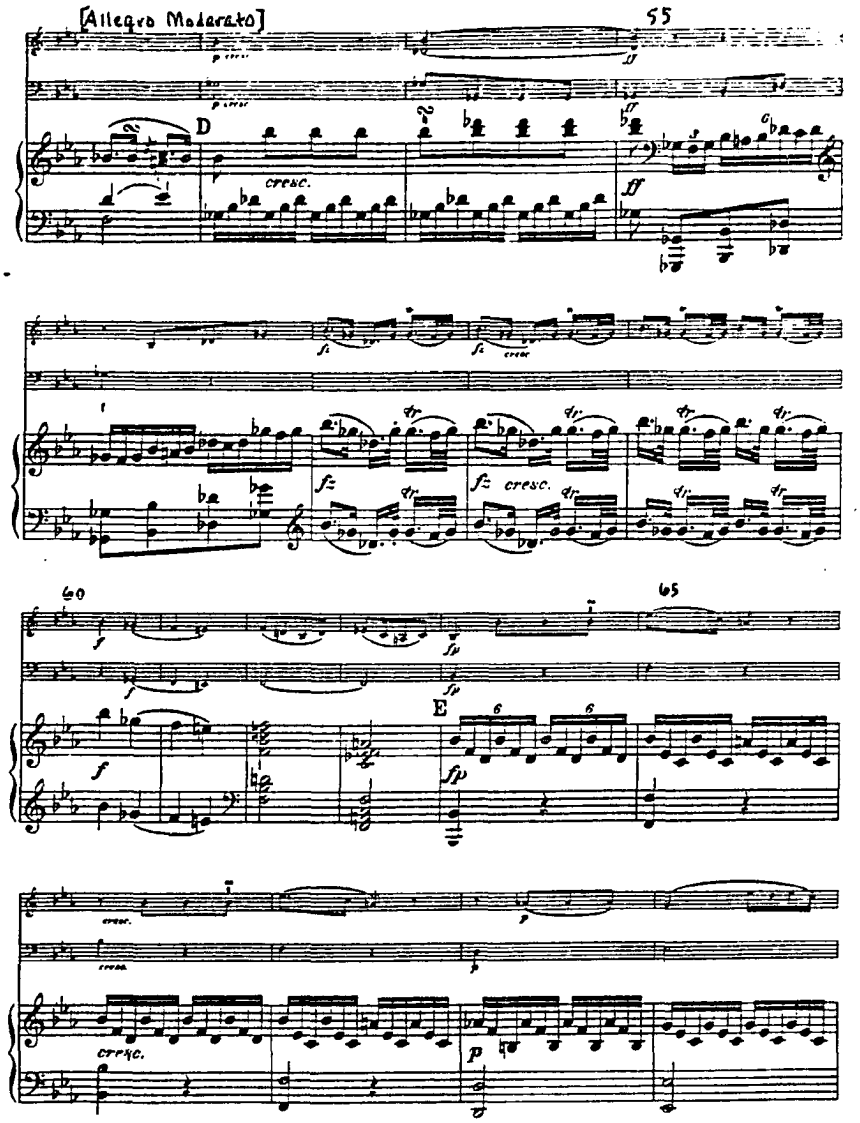
not constitute a modulation, to C major, the lowered mediant.

It is interesting to compare example 32 to a similar passage in Haydn Hob.XV:22/i (example 33). In the Haydn example there is also no modulation to the key of the lowered mediant, G-flat major, only an eight measure pedal point on G-flat. Considering the fact that the Haydn example was probably written three years after Gyrowetz op.9/I/i, it is possible that, in this instance at least, Haydn was influenced by Gyrowetz rather than the reverse, as is so often the case.

The Development Section

Of the one hundred movements which have been included in this chapter on the sonata forms, eighty-eight have "development" sections at the beginning of what Kollman has described as the second half. The remaining twelve are examples of a variant of sonata form which may be considered to be a kind of binary sonata form, although a distinction should be drawn between this type of binary sonata form and the type described by William Newman.

The term "development section" itself is inaccurate for many of the sonata forms examined. It is observed that the development of thematic materials, at



Example 33. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major Hob. XV:22, first movement, measures 52-69.

least in the hands of the master composers of this era, is not limited to any one area of the sonata form. It should further be pointed out, however, that in the works of most of the composers studied true development is not necessarily found in any one area either, including the so-called development section.

Charles Rosen has defined development in the classical style as "basically nothing more than intensification." He further states:

> The earliest classical way of developing a theme, and one that was never lost, was to play it with more dramatic harmonies and in a remote key. At times, the more dramatic harmonies all by themselves even without melodies would serve as development, and we find "development" sections in many sonatas which make no direct allusion to the themes of the "exposition."[20]

Rosen's remarks are in line with the description given by Kollman above, which, while describing modulations to several different keys, makes no mention of thematic materials. In fact, it has been found that approximately 26 per cent of the development sections examined make little or no reference to the themes of the exposition and that nearly half of the development sections, 47 per cent, introduce new thematic material.

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[20]Charles Rosen, The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972), p. 50.

In those development sections which do make reference to the themes of the expositions, the characteristic approach is often that of simple repetition in keys rarely more than four accidentals removed from the key of the tonic. An explanation for the lack of development which has been observed in the works of the minor composers of the eighteenth century is offered by William Newman:

> these are two qualitative aspects of 'sonata form' that remain rare except in the works of the chief masters. These are distinctive initial ideas. . . and true developments that work the ideas in some motivic or organic fashion, by dissecting, reforming, compounding, or interchanging them. One aspect depends partly on the other. That is, true development presupposes a germinal, aphoristic idea capable of development.[21]

In support of Newman's observation, it is noted that distinctive initial ideas and true development are often found together in the sonata forms which have been examined. A significant number of the movements which begin with strong opening statements concentrate on motives from these ideas in their development sections. The development section of Gyrowetz op.9/II/i may be cited as an example. The opening motive of this movement, a bold unison statement with an introductory or "curtain raising" character is presented above as example 22 (p. 159).

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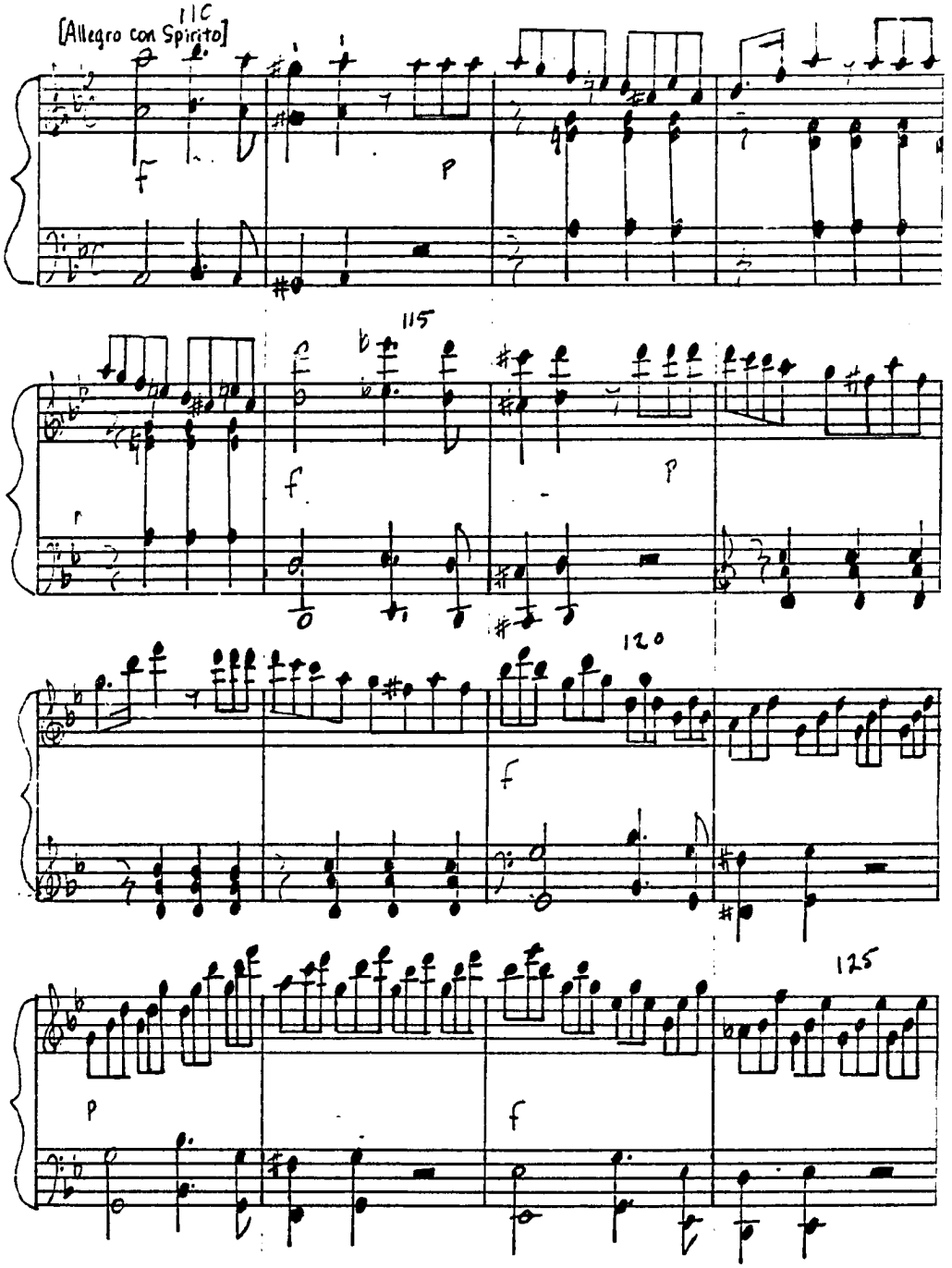
[21]Newman, Classic, p. 155.

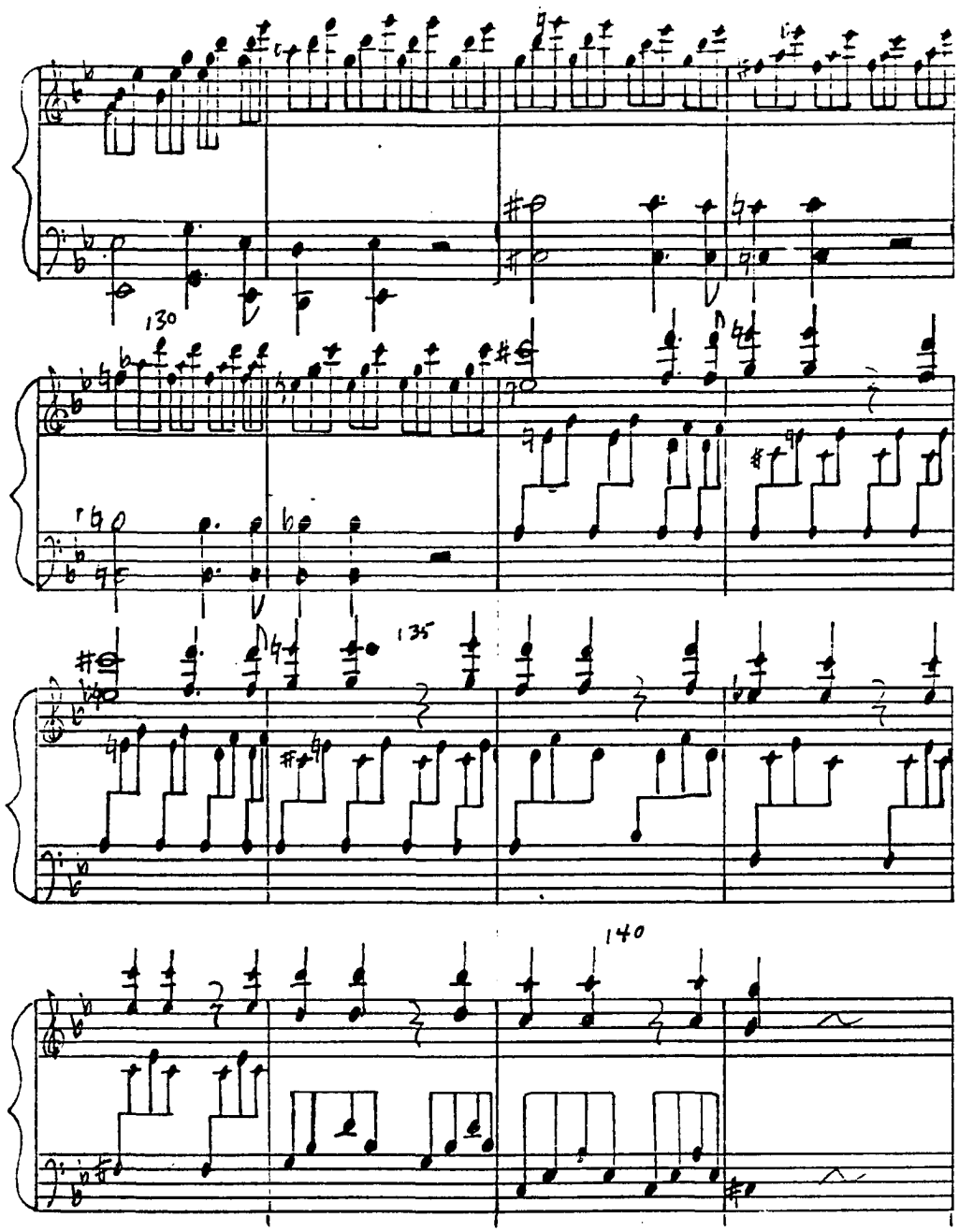
This opening motive is used as the primary thematic material in the development (example 34) where it is re-stated in a variety of different keys, reduced to its characteristic rhythm pattern (measures 128-135), and finally reduced to only its final two notes (measure 135 ff.).

The example given below also illustrates a significant difference between the works of Haydn and those of the other composers. The minor composers more frequently concentrate on thematic materials taken from a single area of the exposition, such as the opening theme, while the development sections in Haydn's works often employ thematic materials taken from several different areas. A comparison of the source of the thematic materials concentrated upon in the development sections of the minor composers as compared with those of Haydn is as follows:[22]

Thematic Material	Minor Composers	Haydn
P	31%	25%
T	5%	6%
S	4%	0%
K	8%	13%
N	26%	13%
Several	22%	43%

[22]The analytical symbols P, T, S, K, and N are used as they appear in Jan LaRue, Guidelines for Style Analysis (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 153-172. P=primary thematic material, T=transitional material, S=secondary material, K=closing material, and N=new material.





Example 34. Gyrowetz, Sonata in B-flat major op.9/II, first movement, piano part, measures 110-141.

Although the number of sonata forms by Haydn is, admittedly, too small for significant statistics, it is noteworthy that the development sections of the minor composers are more often based on new thematic material and that Haydn's development sections are almost twice as likely to draw on several melodic areas from the exposition.

Another matter that should be considered with regard to the use of thematic material concerns the thematic material which begins the development section. Koch describes two basic types of development section: 1) the more common type, which begins "with a literal, inverted or otherwise altered statement of the main or other theme in the dominant or more remote key," and 2) those which begin with "some effective theme from the first section or only an element of it."[23] Koch adds that the latter variety, in which the theme or motive may be "extended, transposed, or dissected within the same voice or by exchange with other voices," is commonly found in the symphonies of Haydn. This second type is also the most common variety in Haydn's piano trios, in contrast to the works of the other composers which more closely resemble

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[23]Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, vol. 3, pp. 305-306, quoted in Newman, Classic, p. 33.

Koch's first type. A comparison of the thematic materials beginning the development sections of the minor composers as compared with those by Haydn is as follows:

Thematic Material	Minor Composers	Haydn
P	42%	33%
T	3%	7%
S	5%	7%
K	11%	41%
N	39%	7%

Although the figures concerning Haydn's works are, again, unreliable due to the small repertoire, the most significant fact observed is that Haydn most frequently begins the development section with motives taken from the closing theme (or themes), while the minor composers seem to prefer the primary theme.

With regard to tonal and harmonic factors, the development sections reveal an important departure from the pattern described by Kollman. Although Kollman states that the development section is characterized by modulations to several different keys, more than 18 per cent of those examined either remain in the same key throughout or modulate only near the end to prepare for the recapitulation. In general, however, the number of key changes in the development sections ranges from three to six with an average of nearly four.

As stated above, most of the development sections resemble the first type mentioned by Koch, which begins in the dominant or more remote key. The initial tonalities of the development sections examined are as follows:

Tonalities	Percentage
I	10%
i	4%
ii	6%
iii	1%
♭III	8%
III	3%
IV	1%
V	43%
v	8%
vi	15%
vii	1%

From the standpoint of tonality, the development sections in the works of Haydn are by far the most unusual. Haydn's use of third-related keys and enharmonic modulation has been observed by H. C. Robbins Landon in connection with the piano trios.[24] Many of the most remarkable examples of these practices are observed in the development sections of the sonata forms. The development section of Hob.XV:27/i in C major, for example, begins in the key of C minor and cadences on the dominant of that key in measure 51. In the following measure, however, there is an abrupt modulation to the key of the lowered submediant,

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[24]See above, chapter 3, p. 48.

A-flat major, and a statement of the opening theme (example 35). A similar example is found in the development section of Hob.XV:26/i.

Not all of the tertian relationships are as obvious as the above. For example, in the first movement of Hob.XV: 28, which is in the key of E major, the development section begins in the key of A-flat major, the enharmonic equivalent of the key of the major mediant. An interesting example of modulation to a key that is enharmonically third-related is found in Hob.XV:22/iii (example 36). In this example, what might initially sound like a simple change of mode to the listener, from D-flat major to D-flat minor, is, in fact, a modulation to the key of A major, using the mediant chord of the latter key as an enharmonic pivot chord.

One of the most important aspects of the development section concerns its function in creating the perception of sonata form as a ternary rather than binary design. This perception is to some extent subjective, but it is, nevertheless, influenced by a variety of factors which have been described by William Newman.[25] Despite

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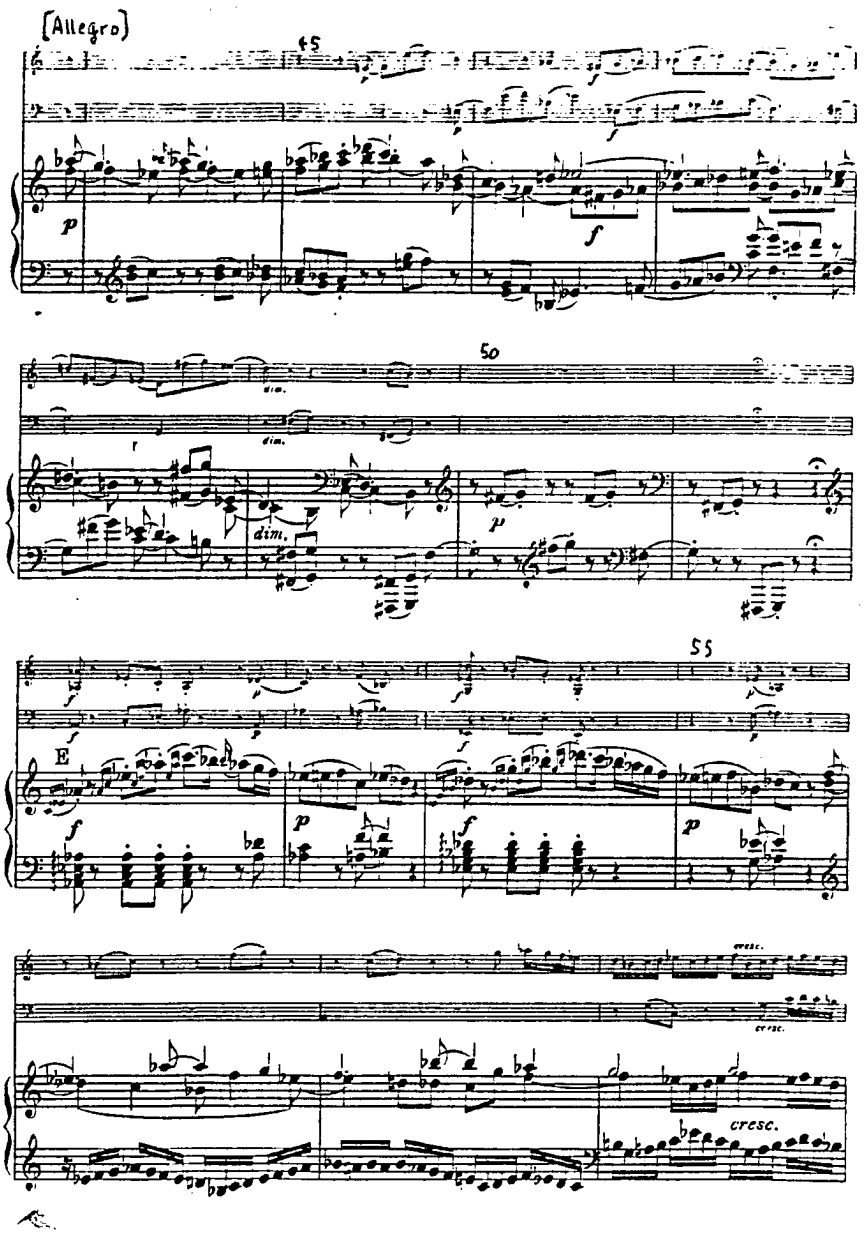
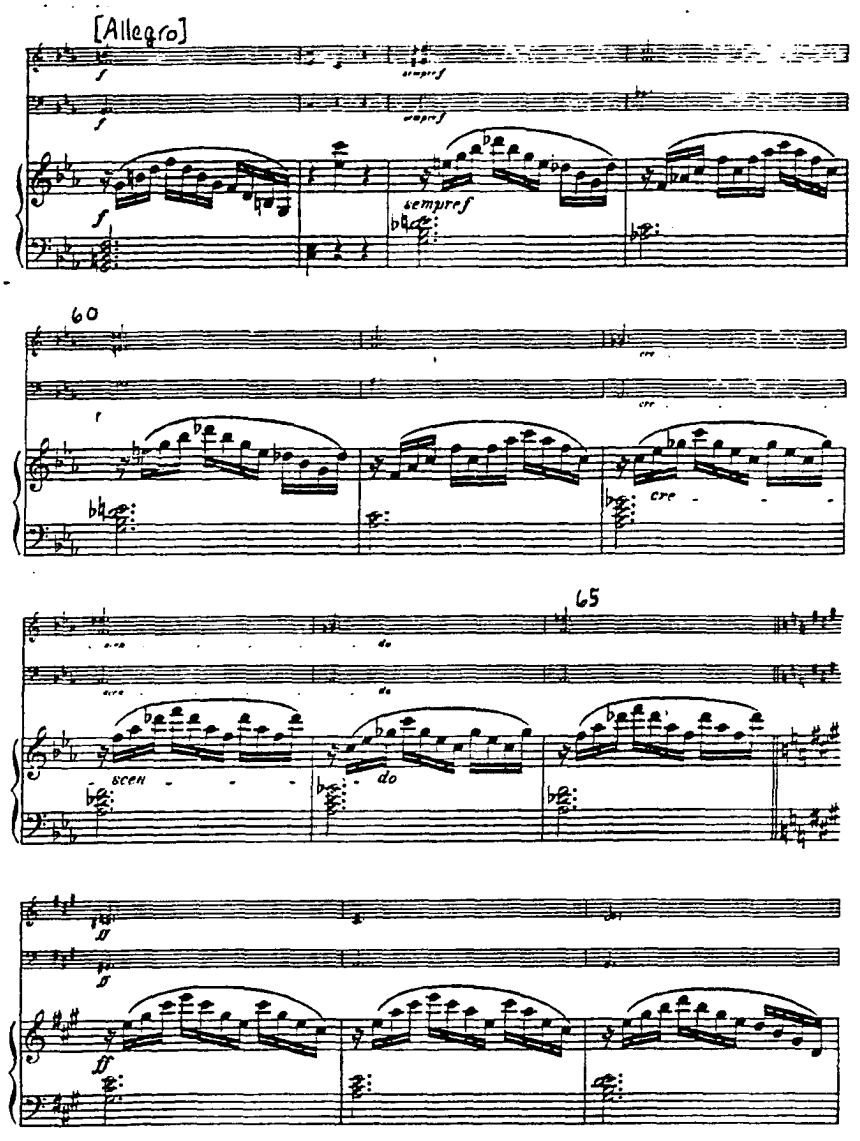
[25]Much of the following material is taken from Newman, Classic, pp. 145-147.



Example 35. Haydn, Trio in C major Hob. XV:27, first movement, measures 44-58.



Example 36. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major Hob. XV: 22, third movement, measures 56-68.

the relatively late dates of the music examined, several vestiges of binary heritage may be observed in the sonata forms.

One obvious binary characteristic is the appearance of repeat signs at the ends of both "halves." Newman has noted that in all but the latest sonatas of Haydn and Mozart there are repeat signs after the second "half."[26] In comparison, approximately half of the sonata forms examined are supplied with such repeat signs. Newman has suggested that Beethoven used repeat signs at the end of his sonata forms less often than the two other master composers probably because of the extensive codas with which his works often end. In at least one instance, the first movement of the piano sonata op.79, Beethoven actually placed the repeat sign before the final coda.[27] The same approach is used in Ferrari op.11/III/i.

Another obvious consideration in the binary/ternary question is the relative lengths of the three sections of the sonata form. Even in those sonata forms which give the impression of being three-part structures the three

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[26]Ibid., p. 145.

[27]Ibid.

parts are rarely of similar length. Over all, it has been found that the length of the development section ranges from a low of 14 per cent of the total movement to a high of approximately 32 per cent.

Newman has expressed the relative lengths of the exposition, development, and recapitulation in the sonata forms of Haydn and Mozart as a ratio. These ratios are given, respectively, as 10:8:10.6 and 10:5.5:10.8.[28] In comparison, the works examined for this study average 10: 5.4:9.2. As might be expected, the works of Haydn, which average 10:7.5:10.6, depart somewhat from the normal pattern. Two obvious but noteworthy observations are that the development sections in the works examined tend to be quite brief and that the usual order of length in the works of the master composers, recapitulation-exposition-development, is altered, due primarily to incomplete recapitulations and to less frequent and less extensive codas.

Newman also points out that the treatment of the opening theme in the development section can have a pronounced effect on the binary/ternary perception. He observed that in many classical sonata forms there is a statement of the opening theme in the key of the tonic

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[28] Ibid., p. 146.

near the beginning of the development section, which negates the feeling of departure and return necessary to the perception of a ternary design.[29] In the works examined, this practice has been found to be uncommon, occurring in only four examples.

It is interesting to note that statements of the opening theme can also serve to intensify this feeling of departure and return if the tonality of these statements is distant enough from the tonic. Four of the development sections examined contain examples of what has been called the "false recapitulation," that is, statements of the beginning of the exposition in keys other than the tonic. In each case the tonality of these statements is the most distant key achieved in the development section.

The binary/ternary question may also be influenced by the presentation of the opening thematic material in the development section in a remote key and the subsequent exclusion of this material from the recapitulation. For example, in two of the works examined, Cramer op.9/II/i and Ferrari op.11/III/i, the development sections end with statements of the opening themes in remote keys. In both cases these themes are excluded from the recapitulation and in both cases the effect is that of a binary design.

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[29]Newman, Classic, p. 145.

One final consideration in the evaluation of sonata forms as binary or ternary designs is that of the nature and articulation of the final cadence of the development section. In nearly all of the sonata forms which may be perceived as ternary structures the development section ends with a well articulated cadence preceded by several measures of preparation. This preparation and cadence may involve several stereotyped patterns although the basic approach is the same: the dominant of the home key is established several measures before the cadence and maintained by means of a pedal point, and the final cadence itself may be articulated with 1) the "hammer stroke" pattern of repeated chords, 2) a fermata over a single chord, or 3) a strong cadence followed by a chromatic scale.

Of the cadence formulas listed above, the most interesting is the use of a single chord held by a fermata. Approximately 33 per cent of the works examined have fermatas at the end of the development section. In approximately 20 per cent of these works the fermata is followed by a written-out cadenza for either the keyboard or treble accompanying instrument. It is possible that in at least some of the other works the composers may have intended for cadenzas to be improvised at this location.

When all of the factors considered above are examined it is found that a total of sixteen of the sonata forms may be considered to be binary structures, including the ten which have no development sections at all, while the remaining eighty-four are ternary. Binary sonata forms are found most often as the second movement of a three movement cycle, as is true for twelve of the sixteen. The tempo of each of these second movements is slow. Only four of the binary sonata forms are in fast tempos and all four are first movements.

The Recapitulation

Some of the more important aspects of the recapitulation are discussed above, especially the length of this section in relation to the other sections of the sonata form and the possibility of incomplete recapitulations. As is evident in the discussion above, the recapitulation is usually not parallel with the exposition in all respects. An explanation for this phenomenon is offered by the late eighteenth-century theorist Francesco Galeazzi. Galeazzi maintains that the recapitulation should begin with the main theme in the key of the tonic, but that this theme might be eliminated and the recapitulation might

begin with the second these "if one does not wish the composition too long." Galeazzi continues that if the former option is chosen "it is necessary that the motive [transition] itself be conducted gradually to the subdominant of the key. . . and then make a cadence on the dominant."[30]

In practice, it appears that Galeazzi's description is less than totally accurate. In all but fourteen of the sonata forms studied the recapitulation begins with the primary theme, but the use of the subdominant key in the re-transition, which is also mentioned by the late eighteenth-century theorist Koch,[31] is rare, being found in only five examples.

Although the use of the subdominant itself is rare in the recapitulation, brief references to other keys are relatively common. Examples of the variety of keys which have been found in the recapitulations include the minor subdominant (in this instance the unusual key of E-flat minor) in Tomich op.1/I/i, the lowered submediant in Gyrowetz op.9/II/i and Pleyel Ben.447/i, and the supertonic in Pleyel Ben.470/i.

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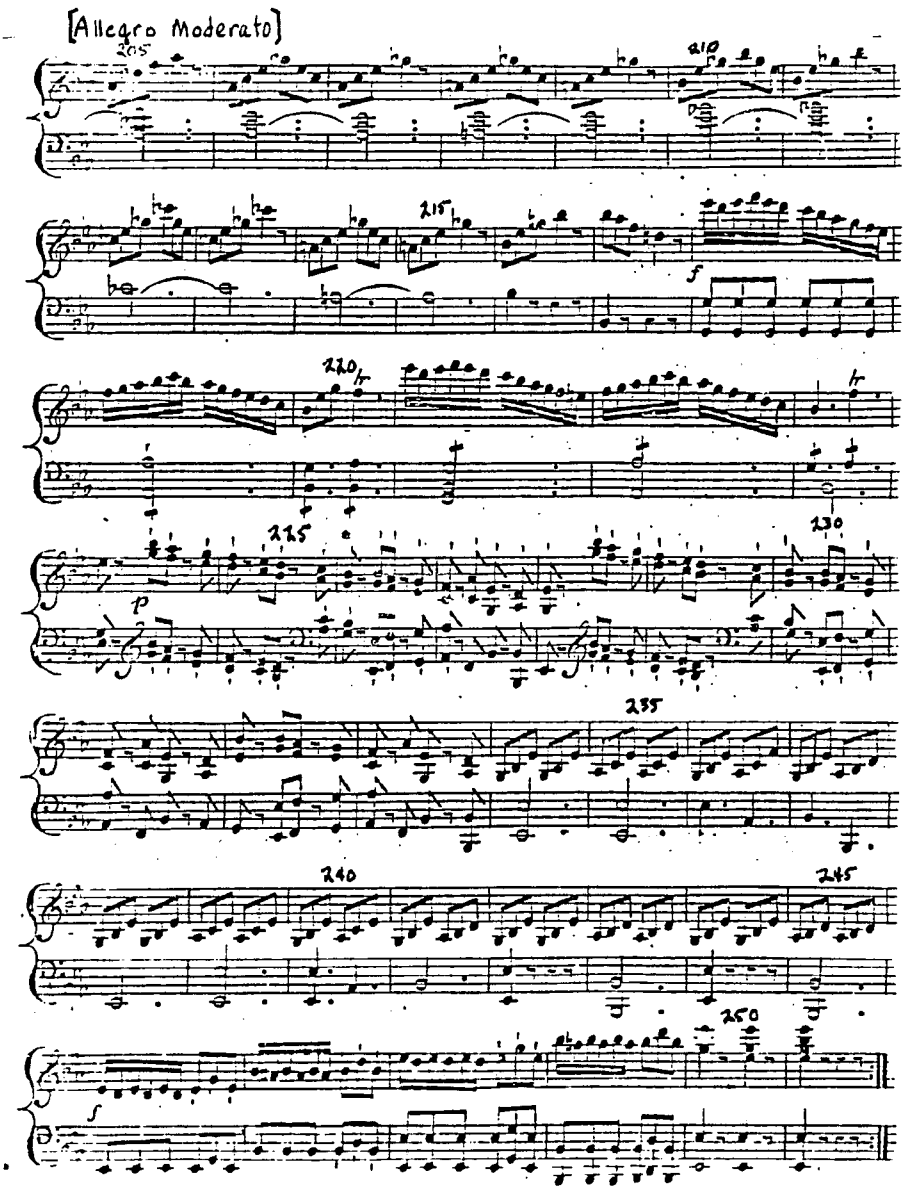
[30]Churgin, Galeazzi, pp. 195-196.

[31]Newman, Classic, p. 34.

In Gyrowetz op.9/III/i, which is in the key of E-flat major, a recapitulation contains a large, tonally unstable area (example 37) which refers to the keys of the subtonic, D-flat major (measure 204), the tonic minor, E-flat minor (measure 210), and the lowered submediant, C-flat major (measure 212). Although tonally unstable areas occur in the recapitulations of several of the sonata forms examined, the example cited above is by far the longest and most complex. This example by Gyrowetz is, in fact, a kind of "terminal development," externally similar to examples in the music of Beethoven. Significantly, however, there is no development of thematic materials in the Gyrowetz example but only the "more dramatic harmonies" referred to by Charles Rosen.

As mentioned above, fourteen examples are found of Galeazzi's second option, that of omitting the main theme entirely from the recapitulation. In many of these examples the reason for this omission involves more than the simple desire for brevity. In Gyrowetz op.9/II/i, for example, the development section is based mainly on the opening theme (presented above as example 34). The subsequent exclusion of this theme from the recapitulation may be an attempt to avoid redundancy. This process is



Example 37. Gyrowetz, Sonata in E-flat major op.9/III, first movement, piano part, measures 205-251.

common in sonata forms whose development sections concentrate on the opening theme.

It is also common for thematic material other than the opening theme either to be excluded entirely from the recapitulation or to be greatly modified. In many sonata forms the return of the transition must be altered if the recapitulation is to remain in the key of the tonic. One common solution to this compositional problem is a transition which does not modulate at all, simply ending in a half cadence, which may then be repeated verbatim in the recapitulation. A similar and equally common approach is a transition composed of two sections, the first of which remains in the key of the tonic while the second, and generally longer, section modulates. This second section may be excluded entirely from the recapitulation or a new section may be added in its place. A procedure similar to this has been found in the London symphonies of Haydn.[32]

Another thematic area which is excluded from the recapitulations of some of the sonata forms studied is the second theme group. As with the transition section mentioned above, the exclusion of the second theme area has

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[32]Eugene K. Wolf, "The Recapitulations in Haydn's London Symphonies," Musical Quarterly 52 (1966): 72-77.

been observed in the London symphonies of Haydn.[33] In these symphonies and in the sonata forms under consideration the second themes are most often altered or omitted in works which might be described as "monothematic." In these works, which rely on the juxtaposition of key areas for contrast in their expositions, the repetition of both primary and secondary themes in the recapitulation, without contrasting key areas, would be redundant. Alteration in the recapitulations of such works take two different forms: 1) the second theme may be omitted entirely, as in the case of Clementi op.29/III/i or new material may be added in its place, or 2) new material may be added between the primary and secondary themes in the recapitulation to seperate these areas in the mind of the listener. The latter approach is observed in Clementi op.27/III/i, in which new material is added to the transition in the recapitulation.

Although alterations are common in the recapitulations of Haydn's London symphonies, due to the often monothematic character of these works, only one example of the exclusion of secondary thematic material is found in the piano trios studied. Curiously, this one example is

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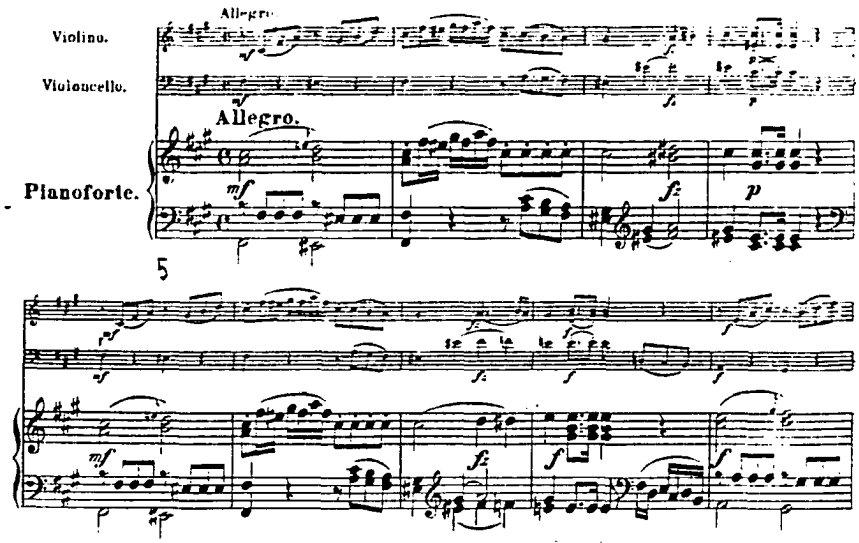
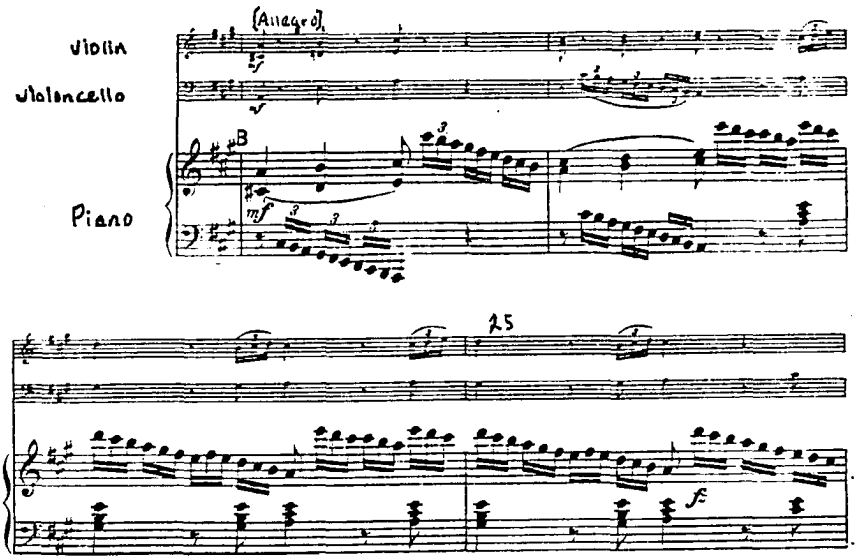
[33]Ibid., p. 73.

found in Hob.XV:26/i, one of the few sonata forms by Haydn which does have a contrasting second theme. In Hob. XV:26/i the contrasting second theme is actually replaced by a new form of the primary theme in the key of the submediant (see examples 38, 39, and 40).

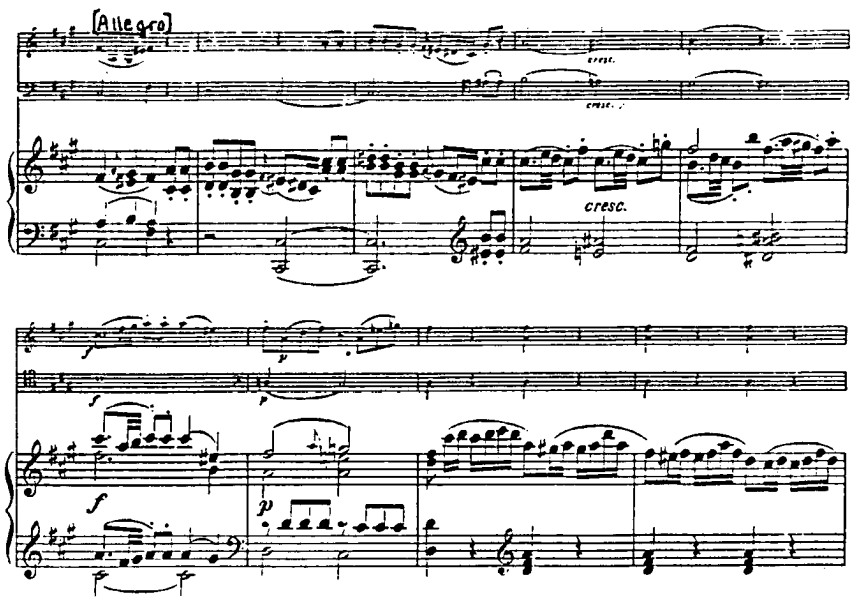
In examples 38 and 39 the primary and secondary themes, respectively, are presented, while example 40 shows the "new" secondary theme in the recapitulation. It is interesting to note that in this work the development section begins with the primary theme in the key of the tonic, a situation which might, in the hands of many of the composers studied, prompt the exclusion of this theme altogether in the recapitulation. Instead Haydn chose not only to begin the recapitulation with the primary theme, but to add yet another repetition of it.



Example 38. Haydn, Trio in F-sharp minor Hob. XV:26, first movement, measures 1-9.



Example 39. Haydn, Trio in F-sharp minor Hob. XV:26, first movement, measures 22-25.



Example 40. Haydn, Trio in F-sharp minor Hob. XV:26, first movement, measures 81-89.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOVEMENTS NOT IN SONATA FORM AND PROGRAMMATIC WORKS

In this chapter are discussed the remaining 132 movements which either are not in sonata form or are programmatic. The movements are discussed in the order of their frequency of occurrence, including rondo forms, ternary forms, variations, dance or dance-style movements, binary forms, and programmatic works.

The Rondo and Ternary Forms

Additive part forms in general are more common in the piano trios than sonata forms, accounting for 104 of the 232 individual movements. Of these 104 movements, 77 may be categorized as rondos, while the remainder are ternary. In practice, it has been found that the term "rondo" was used in the late eighteenth century to refer to a variety of part forms including certain works which might not ordinarily be considered rondos. In order to define rondo form more precisely it is necessary to refer to the writings of early theorists.

Several recent writings on rondo form by Malcolm Cole have been based on the descriptions of early theorists,

including Kollman, Koch, and Carl Czerny (1791-1857) among many others.[1] The following is a summary of these views.

In general, late eighteenth-century theorists described three types of rondo 1) the ABA rondo, 2) the ABACA rondo, and 3) the multi-couplet or ABACADA . . . A rondo.[2] In describing the second and third types, Koch wrote in the Musikalische Lexicon of 1802 that following the "C" section one of three options might be taken: 1) the "A" section might return and end the movement, 2) the "A" section might return and then be followed by another couplet "in a closely related, not yet exploited key, usually the subdominant," or 3) the "A" section might return and be followed by another section which "repeats the melodic parts of the first couplet partially in the main

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[1]Malcolm S. Cole, "Czerny's Illustrated Description of the Rondo or Finale," The Music Review 36 (1975): 5-16 (hereafter cited as Cole, Czerny); Malcolm S. Cole, "Rondos, Proper and Improper," Music and Letters 51 (1970): 388-399 (hereafter cited as Cole, Rondo); Malcolm S. Cole, "Sonata Rondo, the Formulation of a Theoretical Concept in the 18th and 19th Centuries," Musical Quarterly 55 (1969): 180-192 (hereafter cited as Cole, Sonata Rondo); and Malcolm S. Cole, "The Vogue of the Instrumental Rondo in the Late 18th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 22 (1969): 425-455 (hereafter cited as Cole, Instrumental Rondo).

[2]Cole, Sonata Rondo, p. 192.

key, partially in the key of the dominant."[3] Koch's last reference is somewhat unclear but appears to refer to yet another type of rondo: the sonata rondo.[4]

A later discussion of rondo form is offered by Carl Czerny in his School of Practical Composition Op.600 (London, 1848?). Czerny described only two types of rondo: 1) the rondo in the "lesser form", that is, the ABACA rondo, or rondo with what Czerny called three principal periods, and 2) the rondo "on a greater scale", or sonata rondo, with four principal periods.[5] To illustrate both of these possibilities Czerny supplied the following diagram:

Principal Periods	Explanation
1	Principal subject, one or two part theme, with or without repetition.
	A continuation modulating to the dominant (or relative major).
	A melodious middle subject.
	A modulation back to:
2	The principal subject in the main key.

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[3]Ibid., p. 184.

[4]Ibid., p. 185.

[5]Cole, Czerny, p. 5.

	Either a development of one of the foregoing subjects in several keys, or a new idea in a related key.
	A return to the principal theme.
3	Principal theme and concluding passages, or: The middle subject once more introduced.
4	A more or less lengthy conclusion, which may include the principal theme (perhaps varied).[6]

As the above indicates, Czerny, like many nineteenth century theorists, was primarily interested in thematic concerns. In contrast, a theorist whose focus was mainly on harmonic matters is the late eighteenth-century writer August Kollman. In his Essay on Practical Musical Composition Kollman describes two types of rondo: 1) the "proper" rondo, in which the refrain always returns in the key of the tonic, and 2) the "improper" rondo, in which the refrain may return in other keys as well as the tonic.[7]

In addition to the several formal types described above, at least one theorist, Czerny, describes several rondo types which are unrelated to formal structures. These include the "character" rondo, such as the "Rondo

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[6]Ibid.

[7]Cole, Rondo, p. 388.

Militaire," etc. and the "national" rondo, such as the "Rondo Espagnol."[8]

A survey of the rondo forms included in this study reveals the similarity of approach previously noted with regard to other aspects of the music under consideration. Approximately 87 per cent of the rondos occur as the last movement of a sonata cycle. Of the remaining 13 per cent, 9 per cent are slow movements while 4 per cent are first movements. The great majority of the rondos are in fast tempos, as might be expected. Of the movements with tempo indications, 89 per cent have tempos marked Allegretto or faster and 14 per cent are marked Presto. A total of 16 per cent have no tempo indication at all but are assumed to be fast. Duple meter is the most common in the rondos, accounting for nearly 70 per cent. Accordingly, the most common time signatures are 2/4 (47 per cent) and 6/8 (18 per cent).

Approximately 58 per cent of the rondos are entitled either "Rondo" or "Rondeau." Included in this category are the works mentioned above which have no tempo indication and for which the title alone was evidently sufficient indication of the appropriate tempo. No ap-

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[8]Cole, Czerny, p. 6.

parent difference is observed between the works entitled "rondo" (which comprise 37 of the 44 titled movements) and those indicated as "rondeau."

Examples of all of the formal types of rondo mentioned above are found in the piano trios, including 41 with ABACA designs, 18 ABA rondos, 4 multi-couplet rondos, 4 variation rondos, and 2 sonata rondos. In addition, 8 works are found with unusual designs which conform to none of the patterns listed. Three examples of Kollman's "improper" rondo are found as well as one example of a "national" rondo, the well known "Rondo all'Ongarese" or "Gypsy Rondo" of Haydn, Hob.XV:25/3. Three works are found which have the structure of a rondo but bear dance titles. These include an "Allemande" by Haydn, Hob.XV:29/3 and a movement entitled "Allemanda" by Pichl, op.26/II/iii, in addition to a "Walse in Rondeau" by Clementi, op.35/I/iii.

Regardless of formal description, two basic structural elements are found in the rondos. These include 1) the refrain, a harmonically closed statement which begins the movement and is restated at intervals thereafter, and 2) the episode, which appears between statements of the refrain.

The Refrain

Hugo Leichtentritt has identified four types of rondo refrain 1) a single brief statement ending with a full cadence and progressing directly to the first episode, 2) a binary design, 3) a ternary, or aba design, and 4) a refrain which is not harmonically closed but modulates gradually to the key of the dominant.[9] According to Leichtentritt, types 1 and 4 are uncommon, while type 3, the ternary refrain, is the "normal" variety.

All but the last of Leichtentritt's four types of rondo refrain are found in the trios, in addition to a small number of refrains which conform to none of these patterns. The relative frequencies of the four types are as follows:

single closed statement	12 per cent
binary	46 per cent
ternary	38 per cent
other	4 per cent

In the piano trios, refrain types 1 and 2 may consist of either periodic or quatternary structures, with the latter being somewhat more common. It is noted, however, that even refrains which consist of binary periods, such as Gyrowetz op.9/III/iii, tend to subdivide into four two-measure groups (example 41) in the pattern abac.

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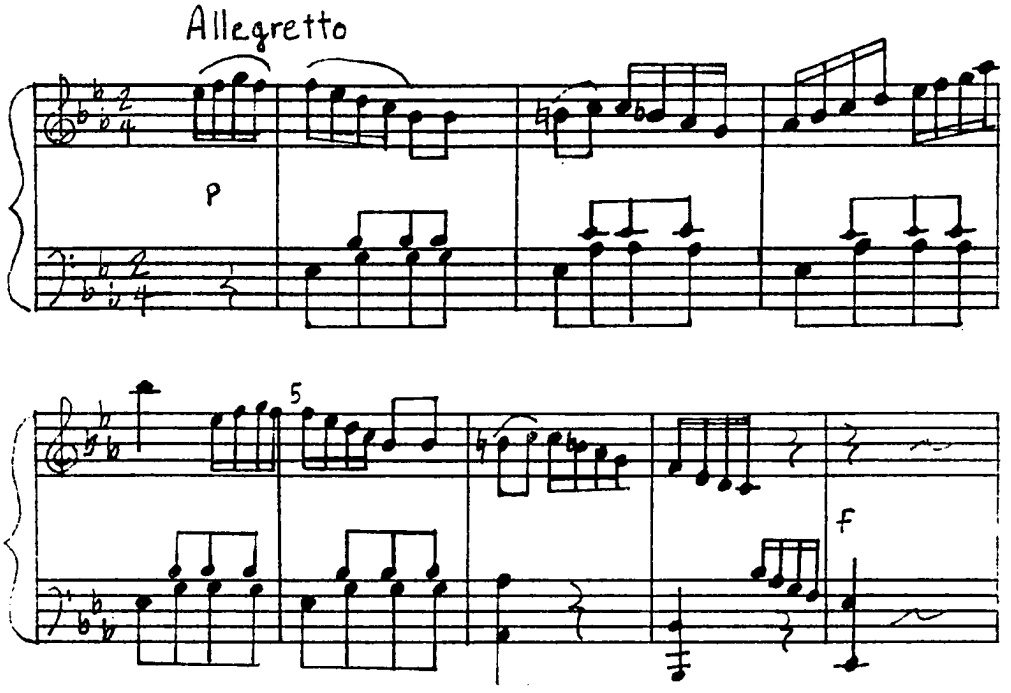
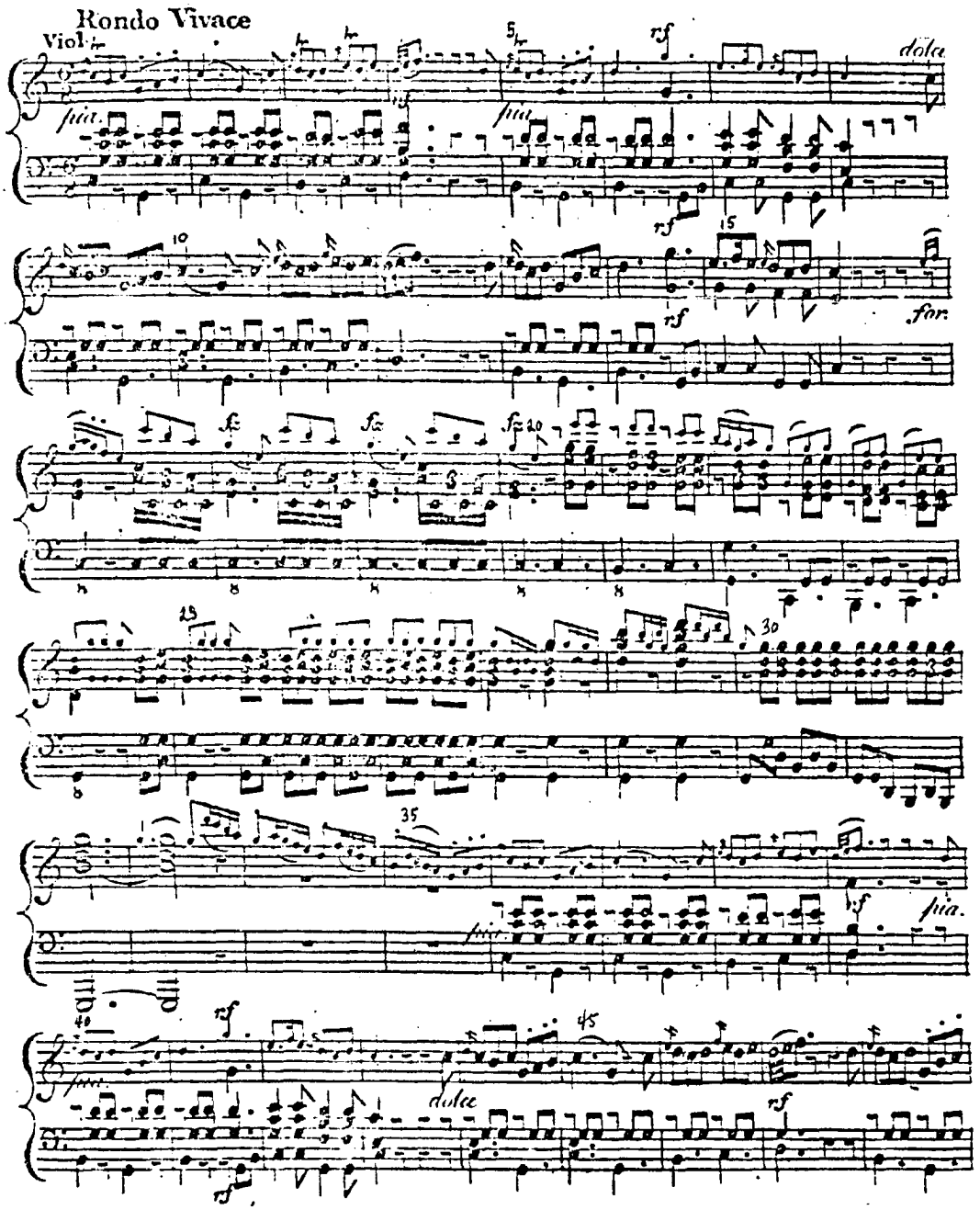
[9]Hugo Leichtentritt, Musical Form (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 113.

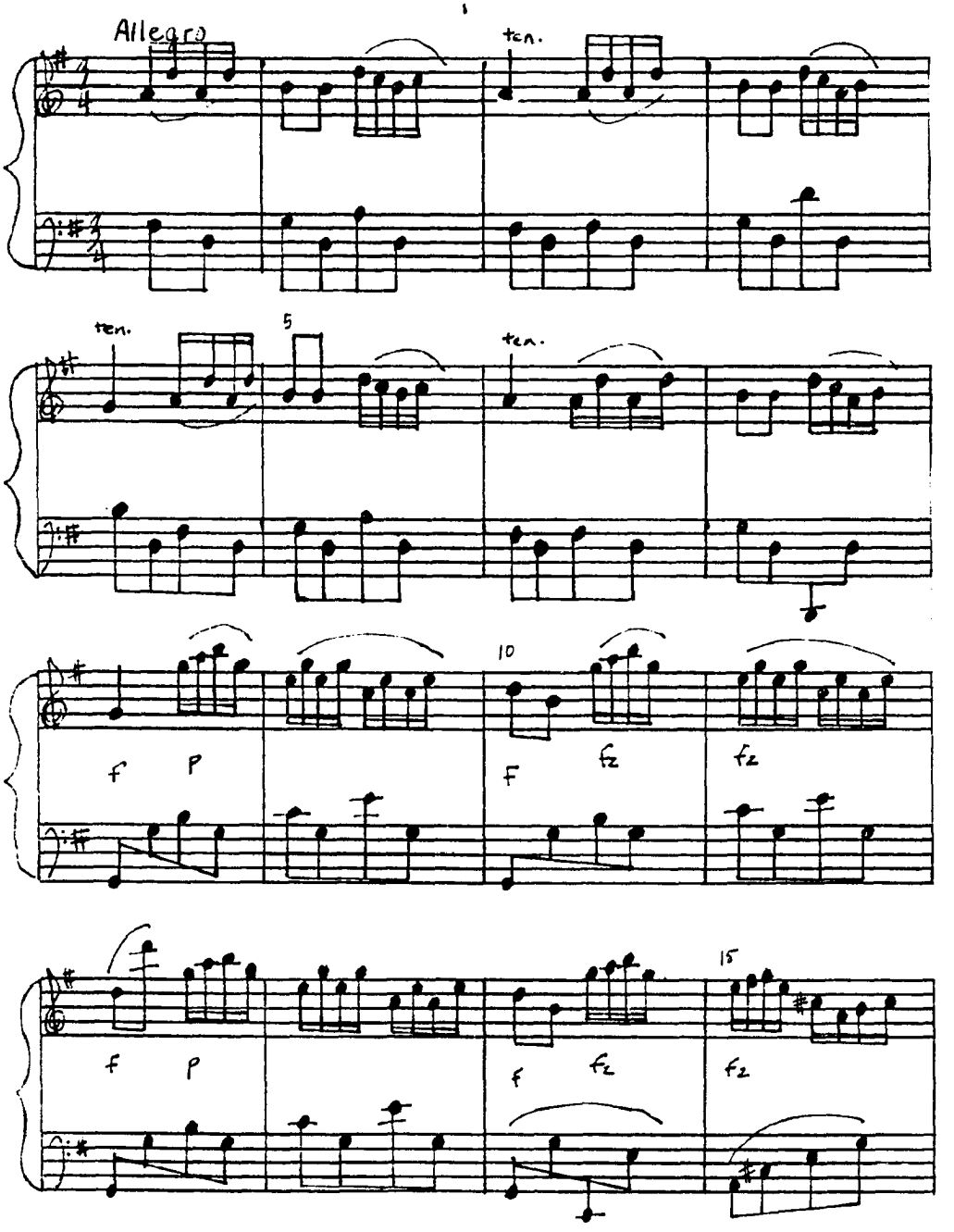


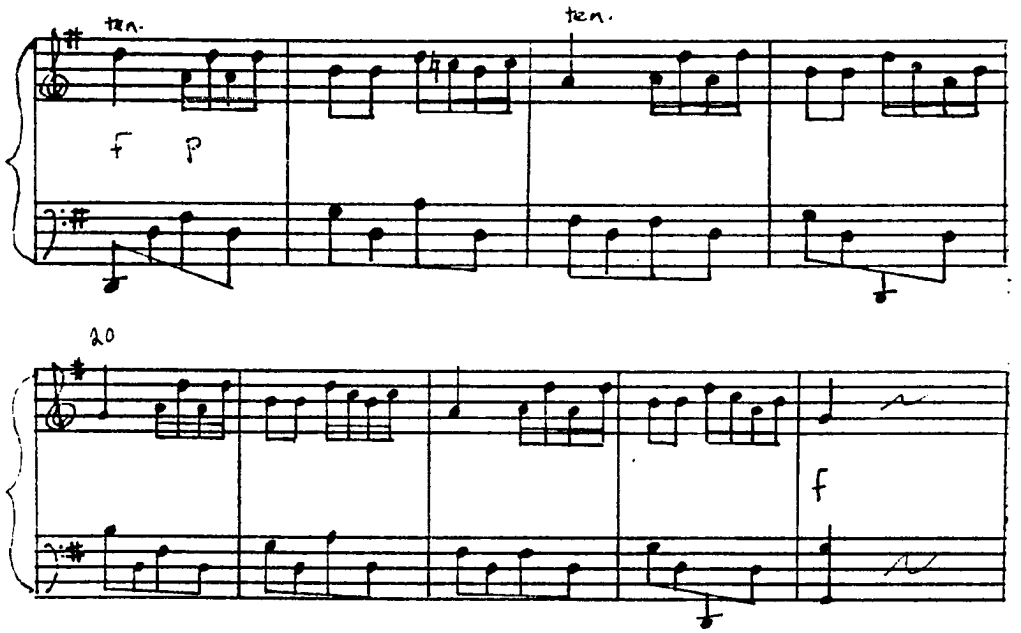
Example 41. Gyrowetz, Sonata in E-flat major, op.9/III, third movement, piano part, measures 1-9.

Two varieties of ternary refrain are observed. First, there are refrains which intensify the perception of statement-departure-return and give the impression of being small rondo forms in themselves (example 42). In Sterkel op.30/II/iii it is observed that the return of the "a" section (measure 35) is dramatized by several measures of dominant preparation (measures 24-34), as is typical of the re-transitions in rondo forms. A much smaller number of refrains are simple three-part statements in aba form without the intensifying devices (example 43).



Example 42. Sterkel, Sonata in C major op.30/II, third movement, piano part, measures 1-48.





Example 43. Clementi, Sonata in G major, op.35/II, second movement, piano part, measure 1-24.

The Episode

According to Leichtentritt, the episode in a rondo form differs from the corresponding area in a sonata form (i.e., the second tonal area) primarily in that it contrasts less with the opening material.[10] One early theorist, J. N. Forkel, wrote in his Musikalisch-Kritische Bibliotek (Gotha,

[10]Ibid., p. 115.

1778) that the episode must be derived from the primary theme.[11] According to Forkel, the episode should consist of either 1) a dissection of part of the main theme, 2) an alteration of the main theme, or 3) similar secondary ideas.[12]

Leichtentritt has written that the lack of contrast between the refrain and the episode occurs because sharp contrast is antagonistic to the character of the rondo, which is "amiable, cheerful, smoothly flowing, graceful, delicate in expression and playful."[13] Leichtentritt has compared the rondo to the conversation of a highly cultivated circle of friends:

> The gay chatter, the witty remarks, ingenious turns, the constant flow of words without hesitation, the tactful avoidance of unbecoming themes, in short, the art of social conversation transferred to music characterizes the rondo as an artistic form. It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that the fairest flower of the rondo appears simultaneously with the brilliant and refined salon of the beau monde in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[14]

Although the episodes of the rondo forms are dissimilar to the second tonal areas of the sonata forms in the degree to which they contrast with primary thematic material, they have in common one important characteristic. The

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[11]Cole, Instrumental Rondo, p. 428.

[12]Ibid., p. 429.

[13]Leichtentritt, p. 110.

[14]Ibid., p. 112.

episode of rondo forms are invariably less clearly organized than the refrains are in terms of phrase structure. Aside from this observation, however, few generalizations can be made concerning the phrase organization of the episode because of the highly individual nature of this area.

The ABA Rondo

Of all of the formal types of rondo mentioned above, perhaps the most in need of clarification is the ABA rondo. Many modern textbooks on form make no mention of the ABA rondo, in spite of the fact that many works which have ABA structures but are entitled "Rondo" are found in the late eighteenth century. Malcolm Cole, relying on the writings of early theorists, has indicated that the difference between the ABA rondo and the ternary form concerns the latter's scheme of harmonic movement. Cole asserts, based on a definition of the minuet found in the Dictionaire de Musique (1702) of Sebastien de Brossard (1655-1730), that in the ternary form the first section must end in the key of the dominant or relative major unless it is a Da capo form.[9]

In practice, however, certain questions may be

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[15]Cole, Sonata Rondo, p. 183.

raised. First, examples are found of movements which are entitled "rondo" but are Da capo, as is the case in Kozeluch op.43/III/ii and Dussek op.20/III/iii. Cole's definition makes no distinction between these movements and other Da capo movements which are completely dissimilar in style. Secondly, a large number of movements do not conform to Cole's definition of the ternary form in that their first sections do not modulate, although they are also completely dissimilar in style from the designated rondos.

The second group of movements mentioned above differ from the movements entitled "rondo" in several ways. First, the movements designated as rondos are all in tempos of Allegretto or faster. All of the ternary forms are in slower tempos. Secondly, these ABA rondos share a number of stylistic characteristics with the other types of rondo mentioned above.

In all of the rondos the refrain is a closed form harmonically. In approximately 66 per cent of the rondos there is a physical separation of the refrain by means of either a double bar or a fermata in addition to a strong cadence. All of the movements with ABA structures which are entitled "rondo" have double bar signs isolating the refrain from the material which follows. These double bar signs are found in none of the movements which have been classified as ternary forms.

A relationship is observed between the treatment of the "C" section in the ABACA rondo and the treatment of the "B" section in the ABA rondo. In the former, the "C" section may be handled in one of two ways. In approximately 65 per cent of these rondos the "C" section is composed of more than one sub-section and is made up of two different key areas. The most common pattern for this section is that of a small aba form, the outer parts of which are in the tonic minor while the inner part is in the key of the lowered mediant (the relative major of the tonic minor). If the "C" section contains only one tonal area, that tonality is almost invariably the key of the subdominant. A similar approach is observed in the "B" sections of the ABA rondos, all of which have two different key areas and in most of which these key areas are the tonic minor and lowered mediant. In contrast, the "B" sections of the ternary forms are nearly always composed of only one stable tonal area, which may be either a major key (most commonly the key of the dominant) or a minor key (usually the key of the tonic or relative minor) with nearly equal frequency.

One final way in which the ABA rondos differ from the ternary forms concerns dance characteristics which are often found in the former. That the rondo is derived from the dance has been suggested as an explanation for the

regular reappearance of the refrain.[16] The primary dance element which is observed in the rondo is the quatternary stanza structure, a melodic structure which has been associated with the eighteenth-century contradanse.[17] As described in chapter five, quatternary stanza structure is common in rondos in general. The same is also true for ABA rondos.

In summary, it appears that the chief difference between the ABA rondo and the ternary form is largely unrelated to gross physical structure but is mainly a matter of style. On the basis of early theorists' discussions of rondo, Malcolm Cole has proposed the interesting speculation that perhaps "to theorists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the rondo was not just a formal structure but also a concept or style."[18] The findings of this study would seem to lend support to this view, not only because of the stylistic differences between the ABA rondo and the ternary form but because of the many movements entitled "rondo" for which this title alone, without any

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[16]Cole, Rondo, p. 389.

[17]Denes Barth, "Thematic Profile and Character in the Quartet-Finales of Joseph Haydn: A Contribution to the Micro-Analysis of Thematic Structure," Studia Musicologica 11 (1969): 40.

[18]Cole, Czerny, p.

other performance direction or tempo marking, was an adequate indication of the correct style and tempo of performance.

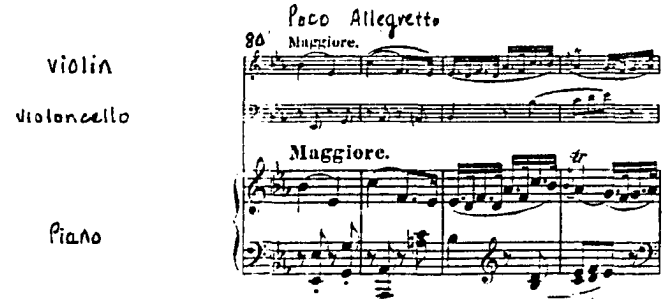
The idea of rondo as a style or concept may help to explain a significant number of movements which do not conform to the formal patterns described by the early theorists. Two such movements are Mazzinghi op.39/II/iii and Pichl op. 26/III/iii. Both movements have structures similar to the sonata rondo but without the tonal plan associated with this form.

Another unusual design is found in Gyrowetz op.14/ III/iii. In this movement, which is mentioned in chapter five, the first episode is followed not by a return of the refrain but by a statement of the opening theme from the preceding movement.

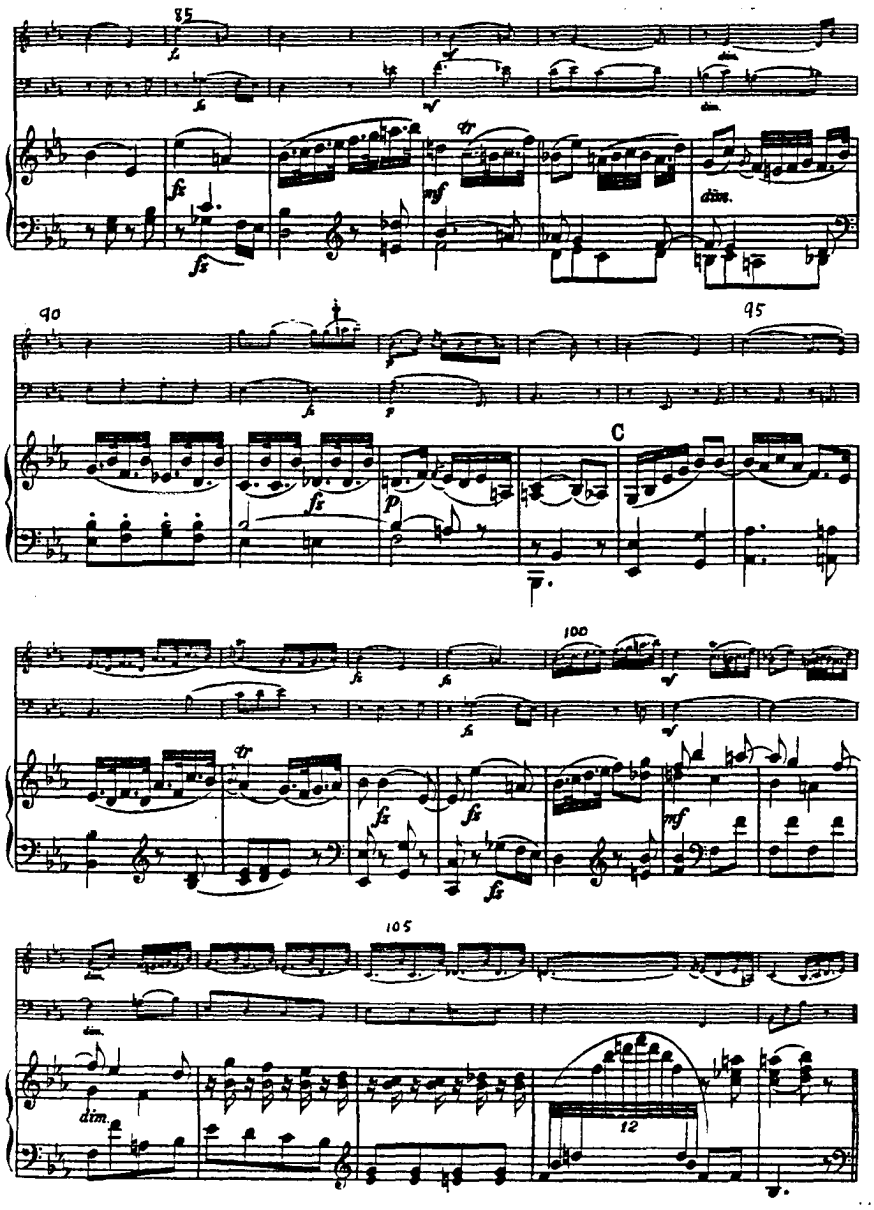
One last type of rondo which is not mentioned by the early theorists is the variation rondo, that is, a rondo in which each return of the refrain is a full variation. Four examples of the variation rondo are found in the piano trios each of which is a five part, or ABACA, rondo: Haydn Hob.XV: 29/i, Kozeluch op.34/I/ii, Pleyel Ben.443/ii, and Seybold op. 10/I/iii. In the variation rondo it is not necessary for the entire refrain to be subjected to variation procedures. In Kozeluch op.34/I/ii only the section of the two part refrain is varied during the first reprise. In Hob.XV:29/i

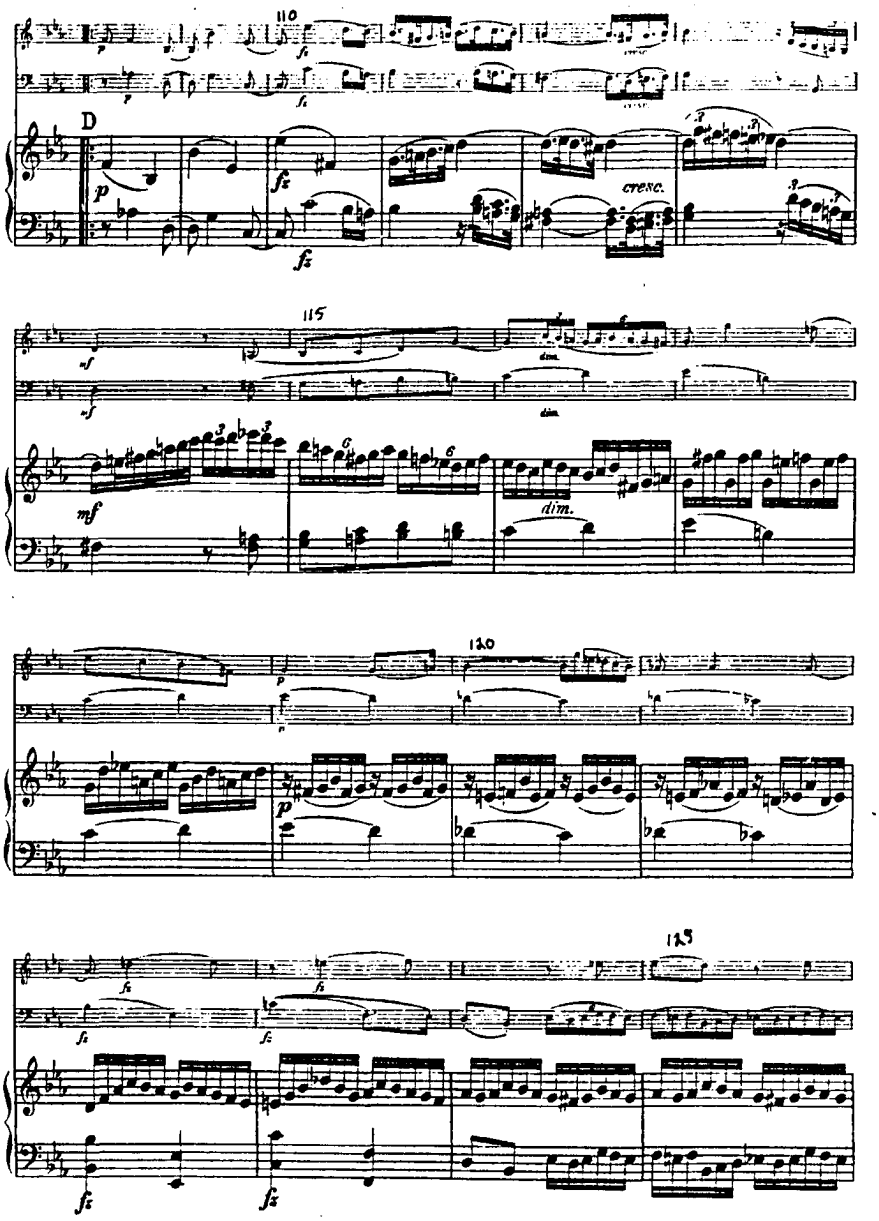
(example 44) the first reprise consists of a statement of the original form of the first section of the refrain which is followed immediately (beginning in measure 94) by a written-out repetition which is a variation. The second section of the refrain's rounded binary structure is treated less sectionally, with the variation beginning after the first phrase at measure 113. In this second section a partial return of the initial idea begins at measure 128 and continues the sixteenth-note motion begun at measure 113.

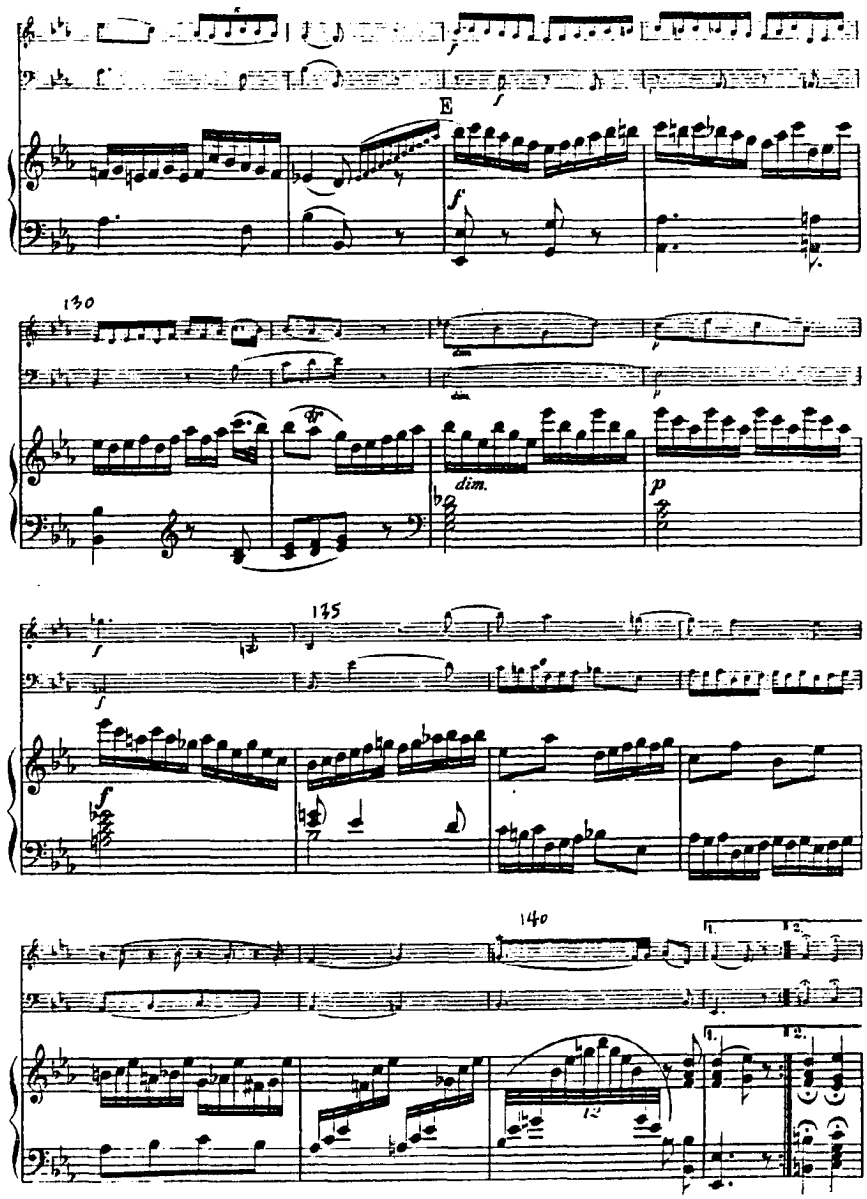
The difference between the variation rondo and the double variation form can be difficult to discern. As Robert Nelson has pointed out, double variations by Haydn, which frequently have two themes, one in a major key and the other in minor, with alternating variations, can give the impression of a rondo form.[19] A case in point is found in Haydn Hob.XV:25/i which has been analyzed as both a



[19]Robert Nelson, The Technique of Variation: A Study of the Instrumental Variation from Antonio de Cabezon to Max Reger (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1949), p. 85.







Example 44. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major Hob. XV:29, first movement, measures 80-142.

variation rondo[20] and a double variation set.[21]

In Hob.XV:25/i it is observed that the second theme (or first episode) is based in part on the first theme (or refrain) (see examples 45 and 46). One critical factor in determining the form of this movement is the analysis of the material which begins at measure 64 (see example 47), especially whether this material seems to be a variation of the second theme of a double variation set or whether it might better be considered the second episode of a variation rondo. Other internal evidence, especially the presence of repeat signs clearly dividing the sections, would appear to suggest that this movement is a variation set. If, however, rondo is accepted as a style or concept, as is suggested above, Hob.XV:25/i may be considered to be a rondo from a stylistic point of view despite internal evidence to the contrary.

The Variations

Variations are not among the most common forms in the piano trios, comprising fourteen of the 232 individual movements, including two movements, Haydn Hob.XV:25/i and XV:29/i, which are described above as variation rondos.

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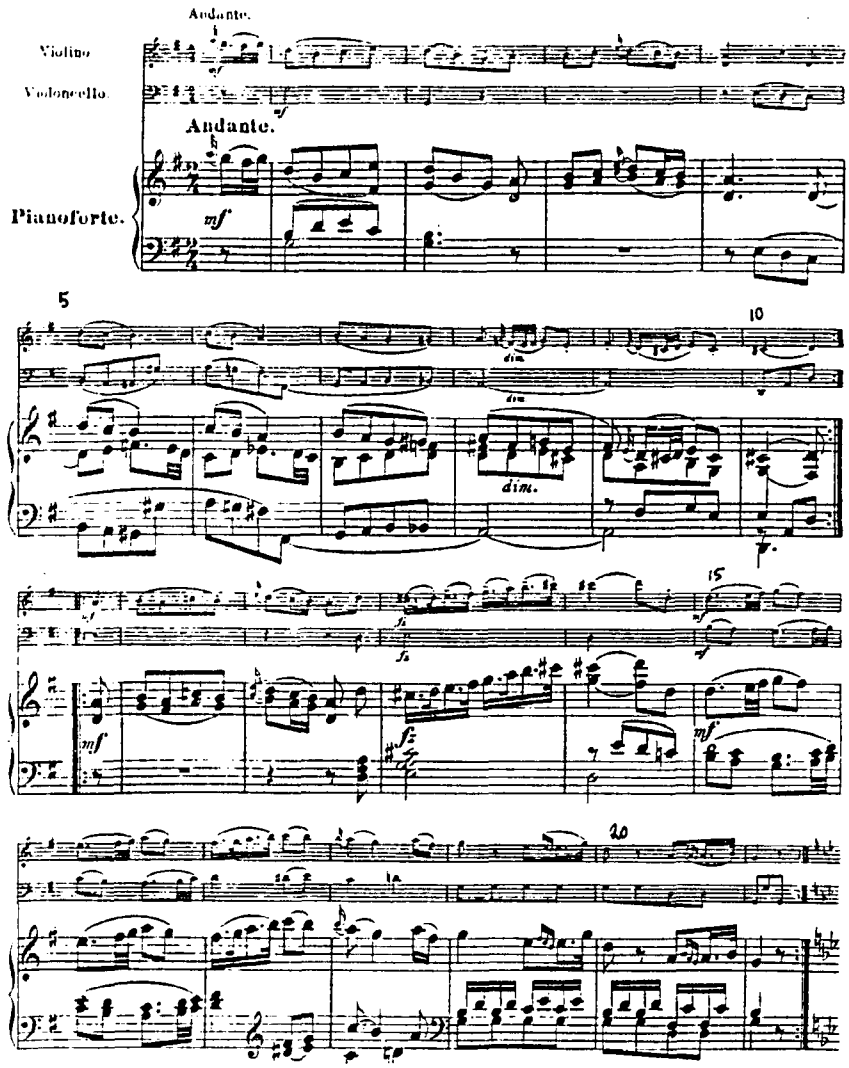
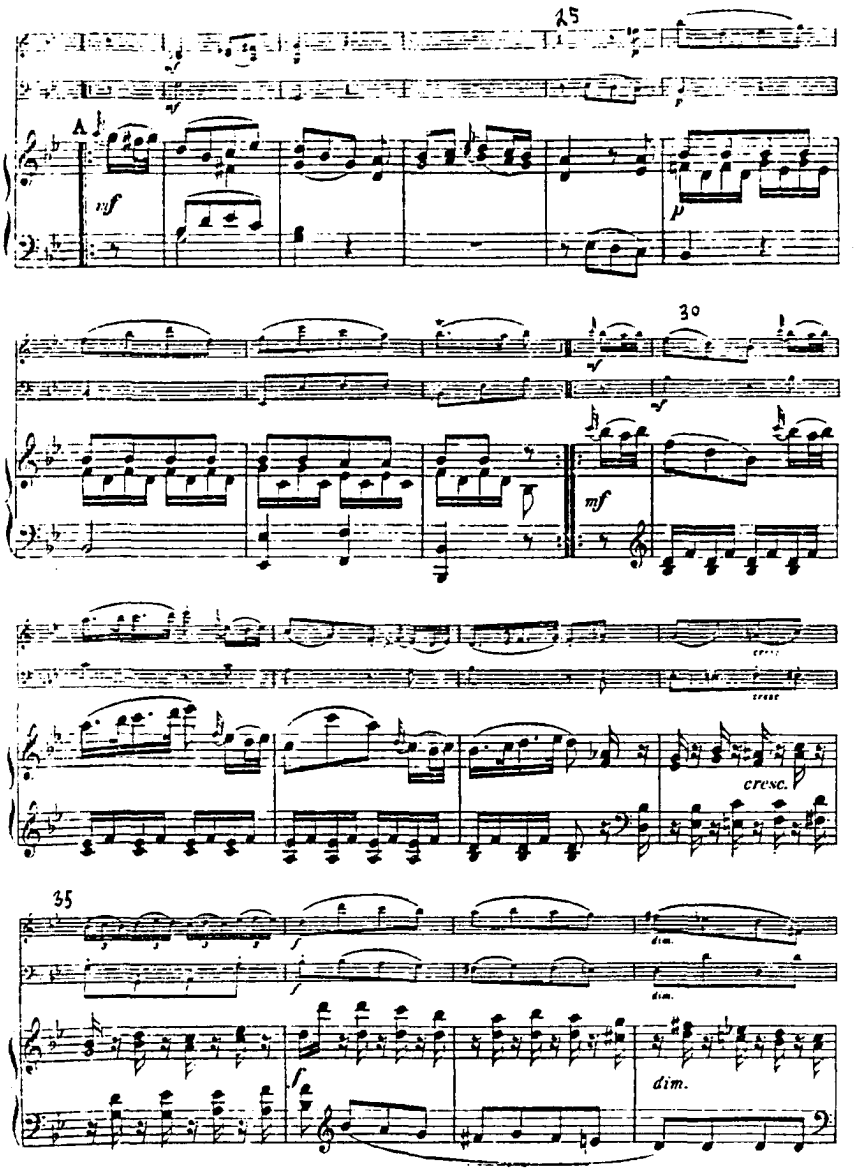
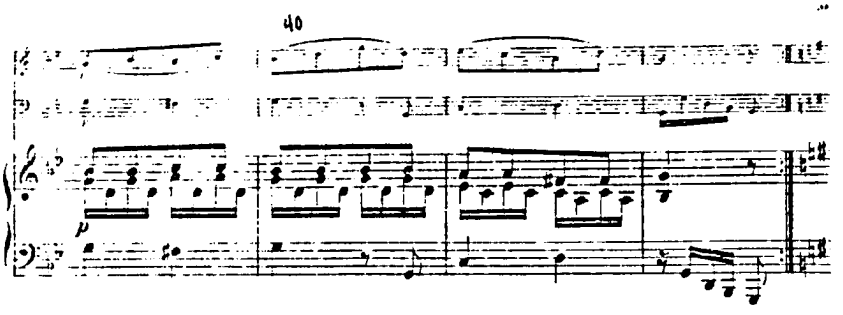
[20]Brown, Haydn, p. 174.

[21]Landon, Haydn, vol. 3, p. 433.

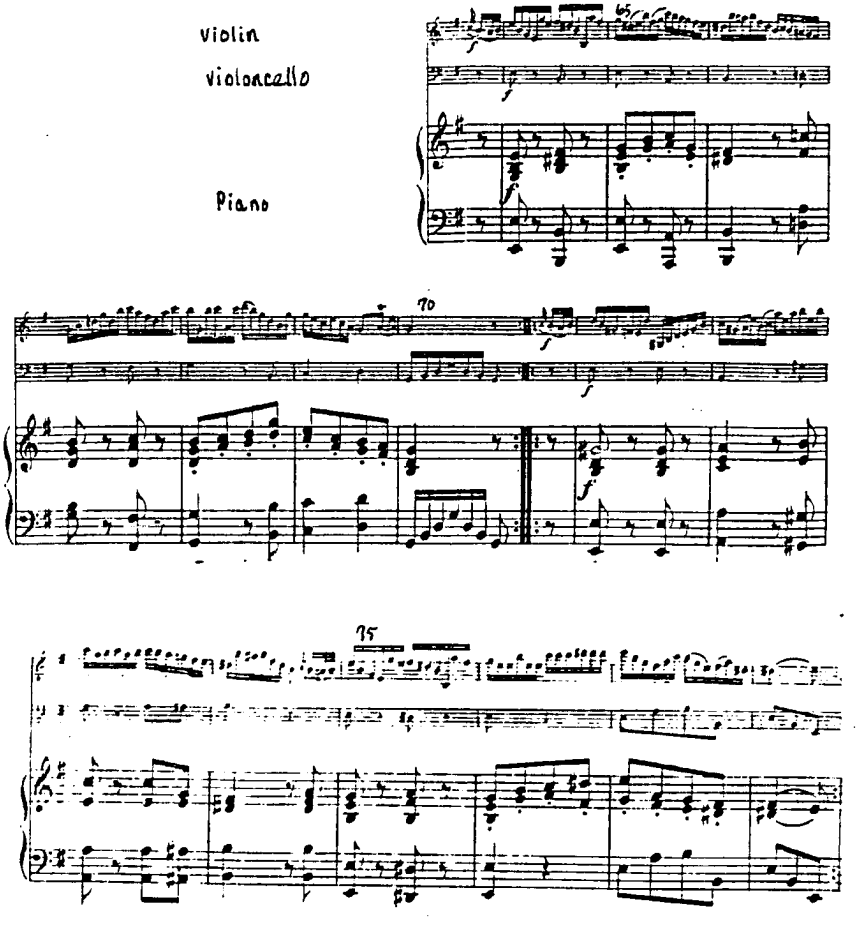


Example 45. Haydn, Trio in G major Hob. XV:25, first movement, measures 1-21.





Example 46. Haydn, Trio in G major Hob. XV:25, first movement, measures 21-42.



Example 47. Haydn, Trio in G major Hob. XV:25, first movement, measures 64-78.

Variations appear most often as the second movement of a three-movement sonata cycle, this being the location of six of the fourteen examples. An additional three variation movements are second movements of two-movement cycles, one is the third movement of a three-movement cycle, and five are first movements of sonata cycles.

Most of the variation sets are slow in tempo. Although one work, Pleyel op.31/II/ii, is marked Allegretto, all of the remaining variations are Andante or slower. The most common meter in the variations is 2/4, accounting for ten of the fourteen variations. Three movements are in 6/8 meter and one is in 4/4.

H. C. Robbins Landon has identified three types of variations in the symphonies of Haydn which are also found in the music considered in this study. These include 1) the strophic variation, which may be continuous or divided into sections with repeat signs, 2) the ternary or ABA variation, in which the "A" section is in a major key, the "B" section is in the parallel minor key, and the return of the "A" section is a variation, also in major, and 3) the double variation, which usually has two themes, one in a major key and the other in minor and alternating variations of each.[22]

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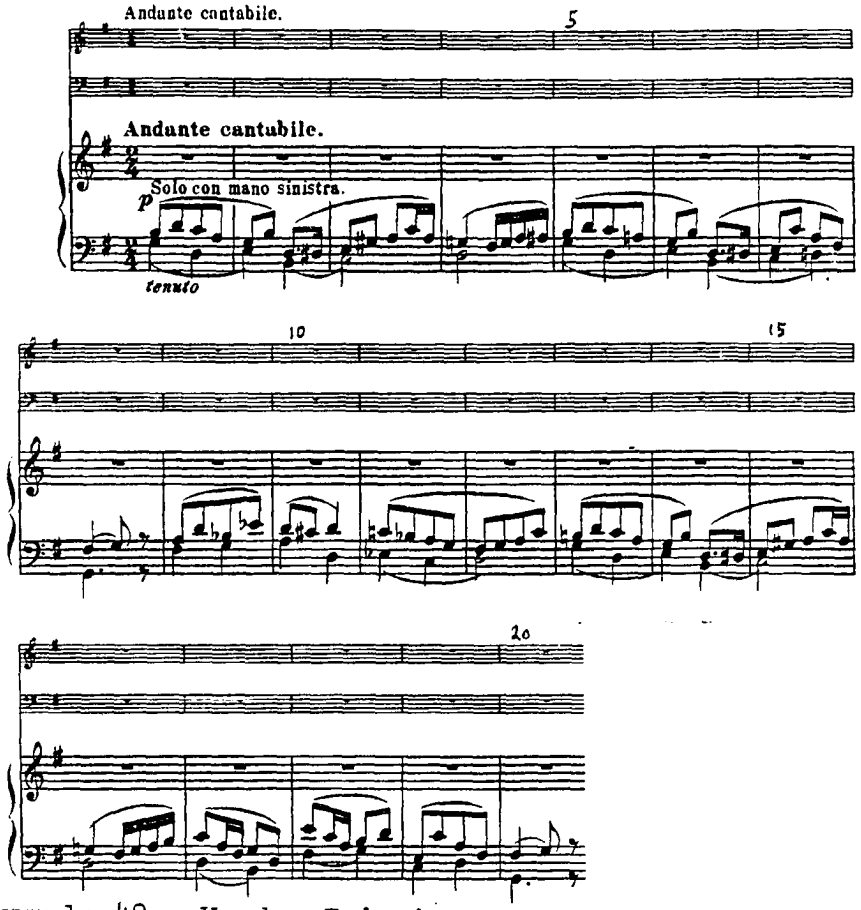
[22]Landon, The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn, pp. 416-417.

Six examples of strophic variations are found in the piano trios, the largest number of any single type of variation. This relatively simple type of variation is also the most common choice of the minor composers, although not that of Haydn. All but two of the works of the minor composers are strophic variations while only one of Haydn's six variation sets fits into this category.

As a whole, the strophic variations display the same sort of conventionality noted frequently with regard to other aspects of the piano trios. Four of the six examples consist of a theme, which is in each case a double binary period of sixteen measures in length, followed by from three to five variations and a brief coda. In each of these works the variations are clearly designated and are divided sectionally by double bars and repeat signs. Typically, the variations are each in the key of the tonic, although two of the movements have one variation in the parallel minor. The variations themselves are simply ornamented versions of the theme, generally retaining the theme's outline and chord progression. In only one of these four strophic variations, Ferrari op.11/III/ii, is an accompanying instrument used to share in the presentation of melodic material or vary the texture. As noted above, the Ferrari work is a concertante sonata in which the violin normally shares equally with the piano in the presentation of melodic material.

The two remaining strophic variations, Mazzinghi op.39/II/ii and Haydn Hob.XV:20/ii, differ from the above in at least two ways 1) both are continuous rather than sectional, and 2) the themes of both are not sixteen-measure double periods, the former being a twenty-four-measure binary complex and the latter a twenty-measure rounded binary design.

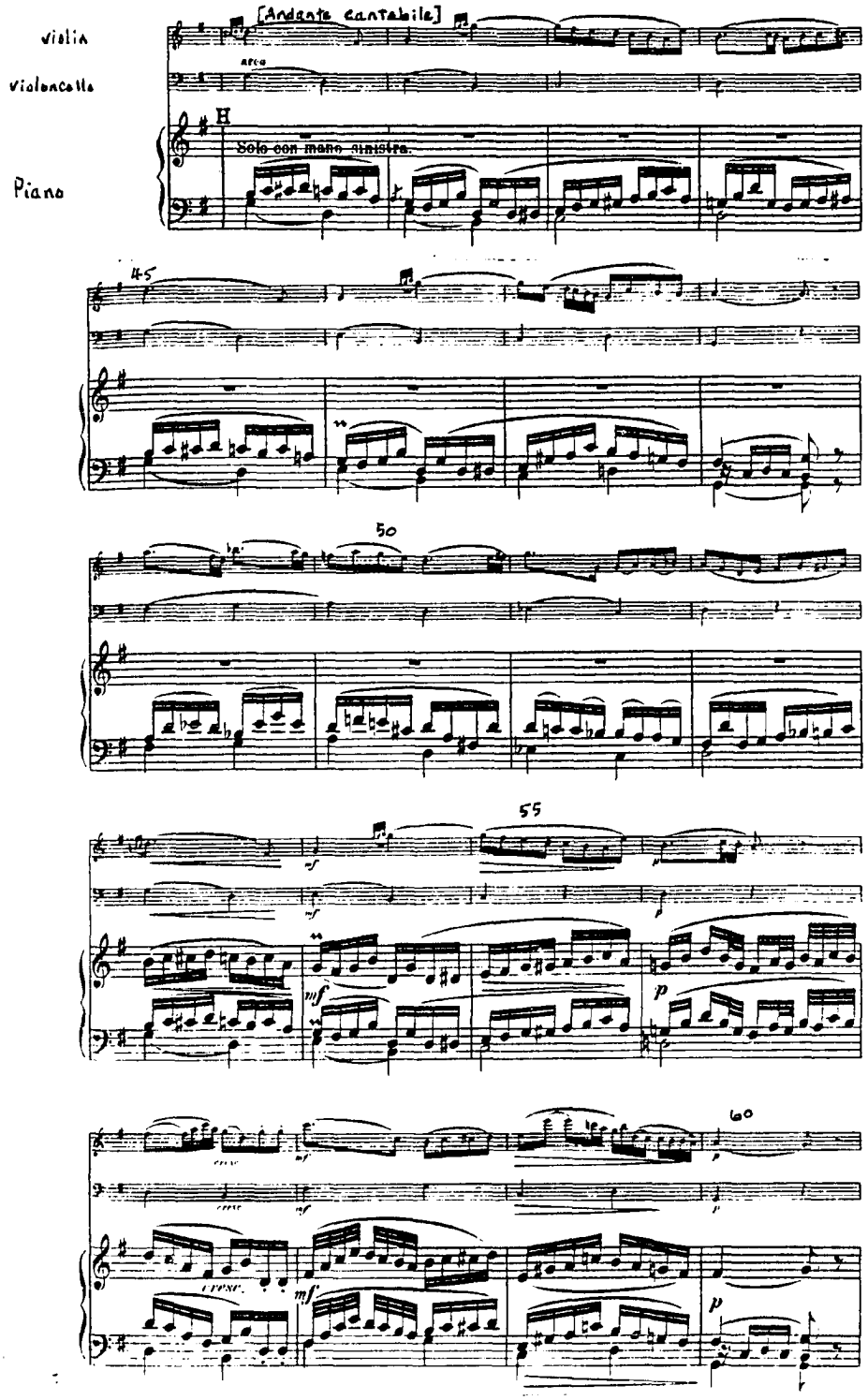
Haydn Hob.XV:20/ii is of special interest in that it is the only example of a simple strophic variation set in his late piano trios, while several examples of more complex variation types are found. The theme of XV:20/ii (example 48) is presented in a sparse two-part counterpoint, which is common in Haydn's late piano trios, marked "Solo con mano sinistra." In contrast to the strophic variations of other composers, the violin part is used more extensively in the presentation of countermelodies (example 49) and to lend variety to the texture. Hob.XV:20/ii differs most from other variations by Haydn and from the variations of the minor composers in its conservative, even archaic, treatment of the theme. The variations of Hob.XV:20/ii are less the ornamental, treble oriented, variation of the classic era than the bass dominated style of the baroque, a characteristic shown not only by the retention of the bass line intact through the first two variations of the set but by the maintenance of the outline of the bass line in the last variation



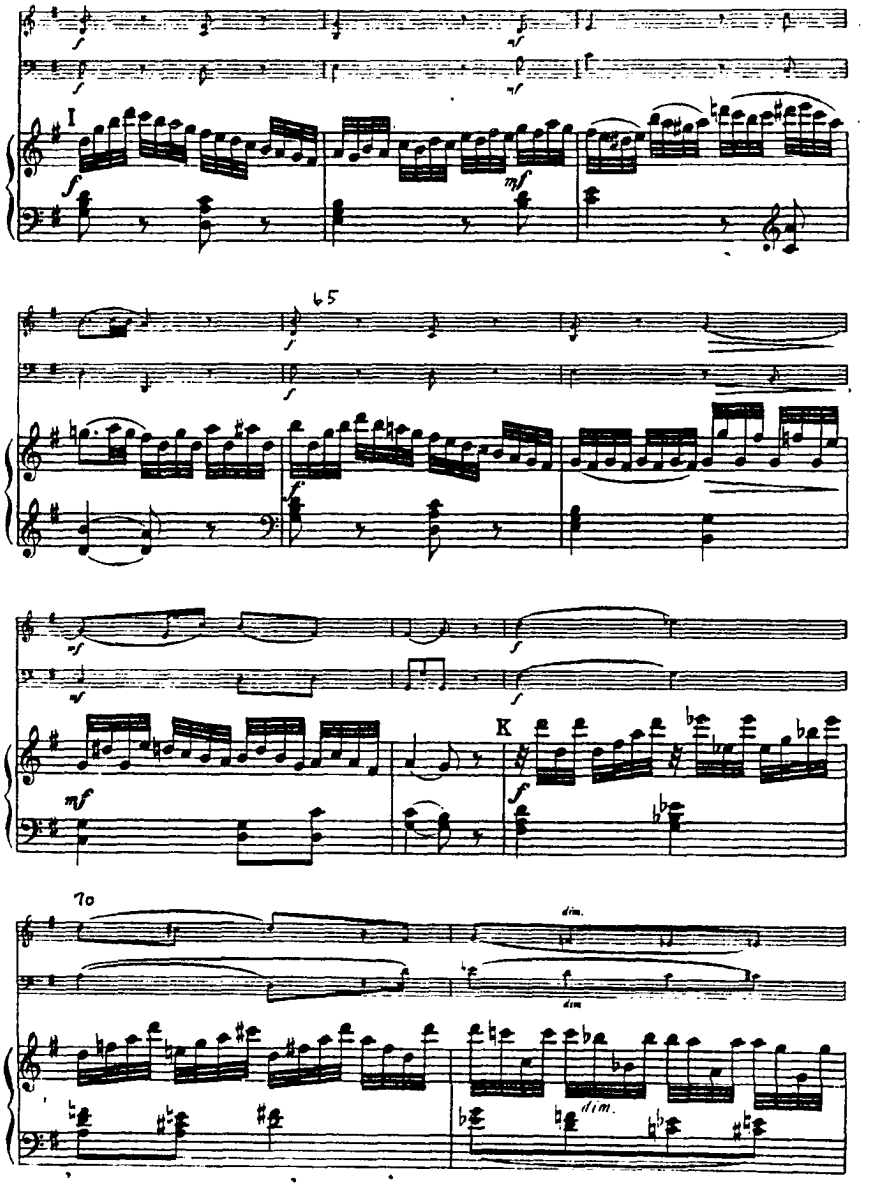
Example 48. Haydn, Trio in B-flat major, Hob.XV:20, second movement, measures 1-20.

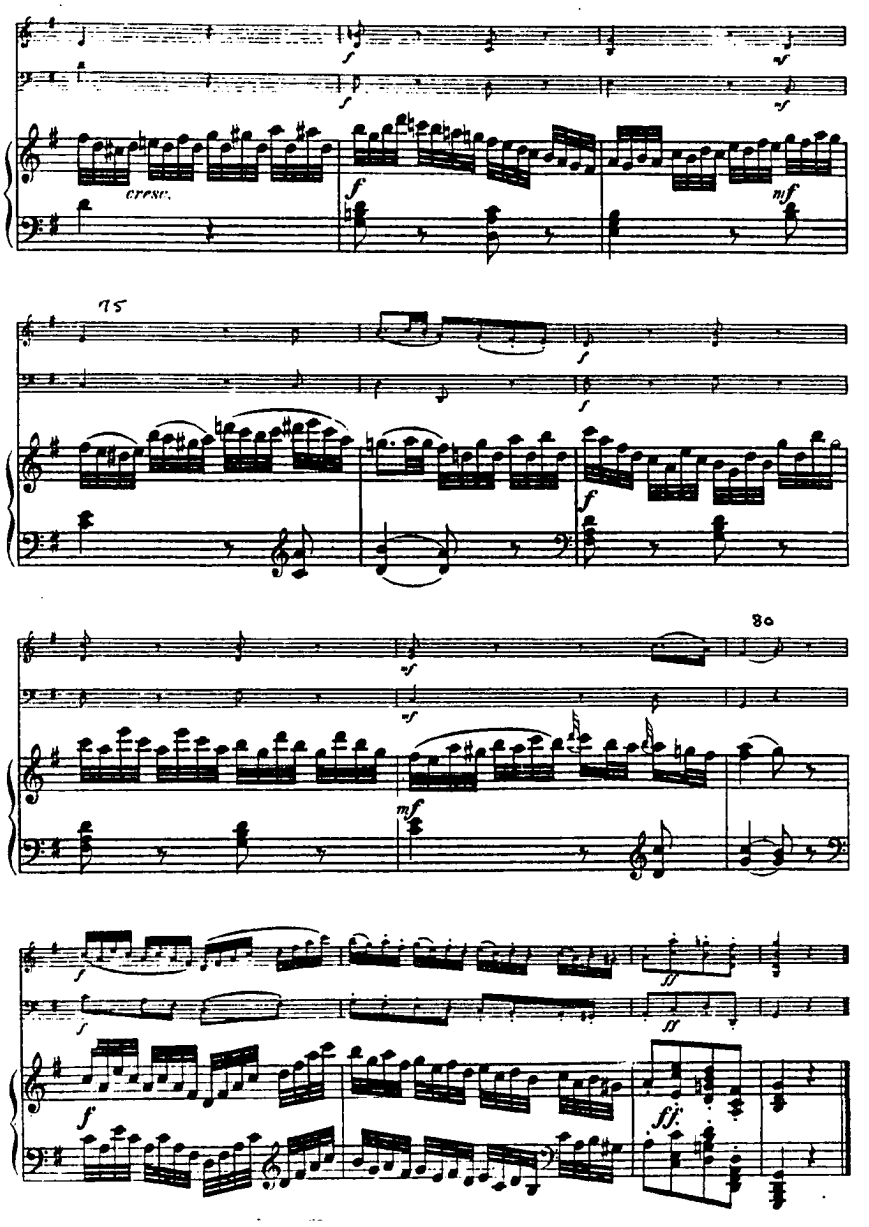
(example 50) even when the upper part is only remotely similar to the theme.

Three ABA variations are found in the piano trios, Haydn Hob.XV:18/ii, Hob.XV:32/i, and Dussek op.20/I/ii. The ABA variations, along with the variation rondos, reflect the synthesis of formal structures which is especially common in the late works of Haydn. While some variation of the "A" section is common in the reprises of ternary forms which are not Da capo, the ABA variations discussed here differ from



Example 49. Haydn, Trio in B-flat major Hob.XV:20, second movement, measures 41-60.





Example 50. Haydn, Trio in B-flat major Hob.XV:20, second movement, measures 61-84.

these ternary forms in that variation procedures are systematically employed in the reprise and may occur in other places as well.

Landon uses the term "ABA strophic variation" for these ternary variations. The word "strophic" is not used here because two of the three ABA variations are not strophic, that is, the variations do not assume the form of the theme. In both of the non-strophic variations, Haydn Hob.XV:18/i and Dussek op.20/I/ii, the divergence from the theme's structure is caused by the same factor: the reprises are slightly modified so that the movements can proceed Attacca to the movements which follow.

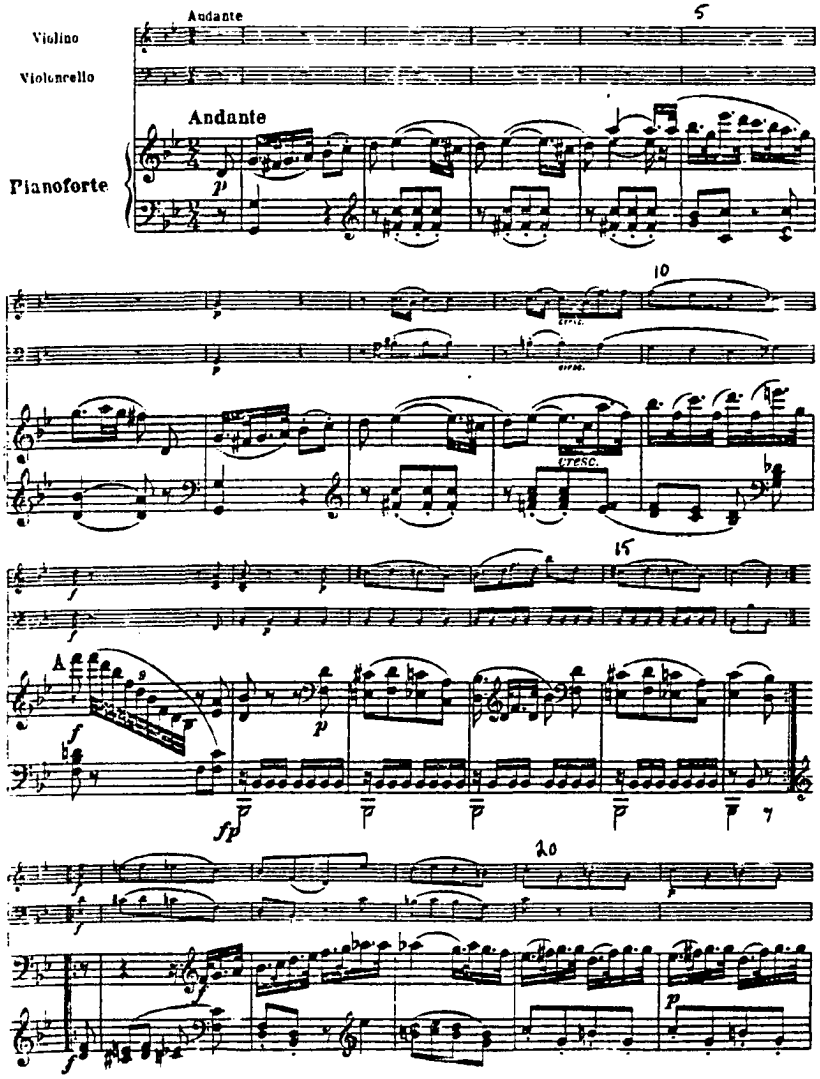
The remaining ABA variation, Hob.XV:32/i, differs from the above both in the fact that it is strophic and in the fact that variation procedures are used not only in the refrain but also in its return. In the "A" section of Hob. XV:32/i each strain is followed by a written-out repetition which is a variation. The reprise, on the other hand, is a variation without repetition. The movement ends in a brief coda and does not proceed Attacca to the next movement.

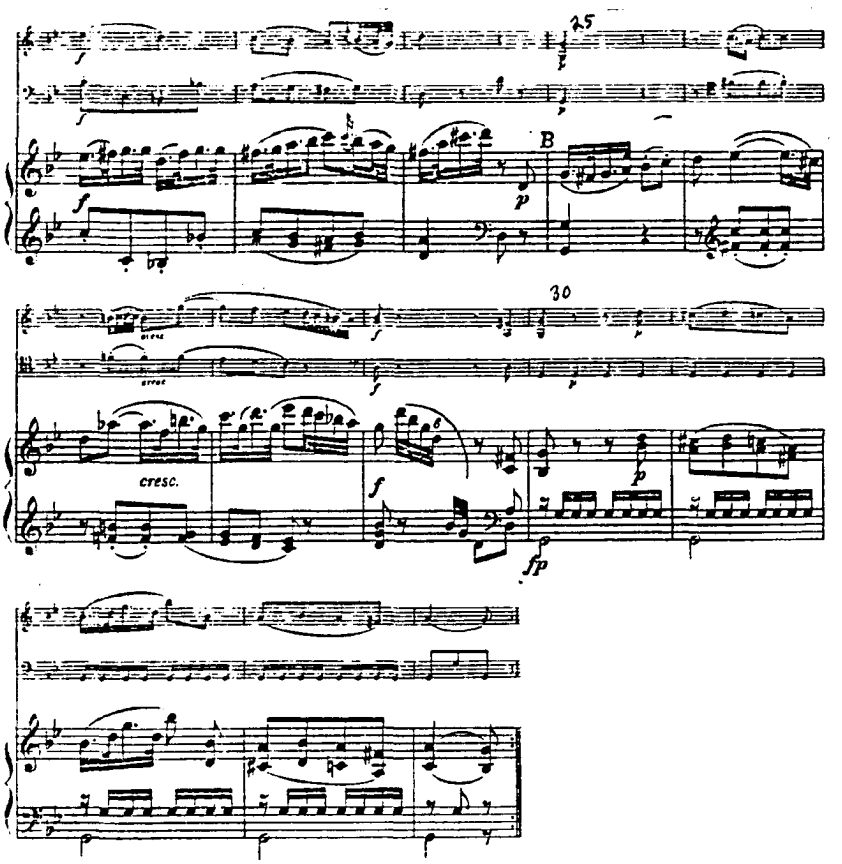
Two double variations are found in the piano trios, both of them by Haydn: Hob.XV:19/i and XV:23/i. Both movements employ the type of double variation procedure found in the well known independent set of variations for piano solo

by Haydn, Hob.XVII:6 in F minor: two themes are presented, the first in a minor key and the second in the parallel major, followed by alternating variations of each.

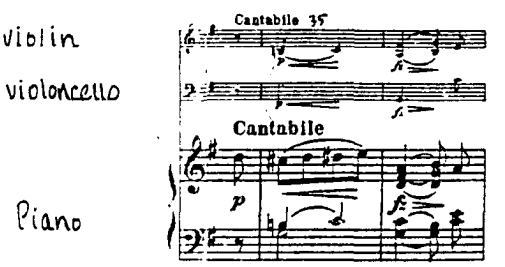
In Hob.XV:19/i it is observed that both the first and second themes are relatively long rounded binary structures which appear to display little resemblance to each other (examples 51 and 52). The beginning of the second theme appears to be related to the concluding four measures of the first theme, a demonstration of Haydn's proclivity for beginning a new section with the closing material of the section preceding it. This process is also observed in the development sections of the sonata forms.

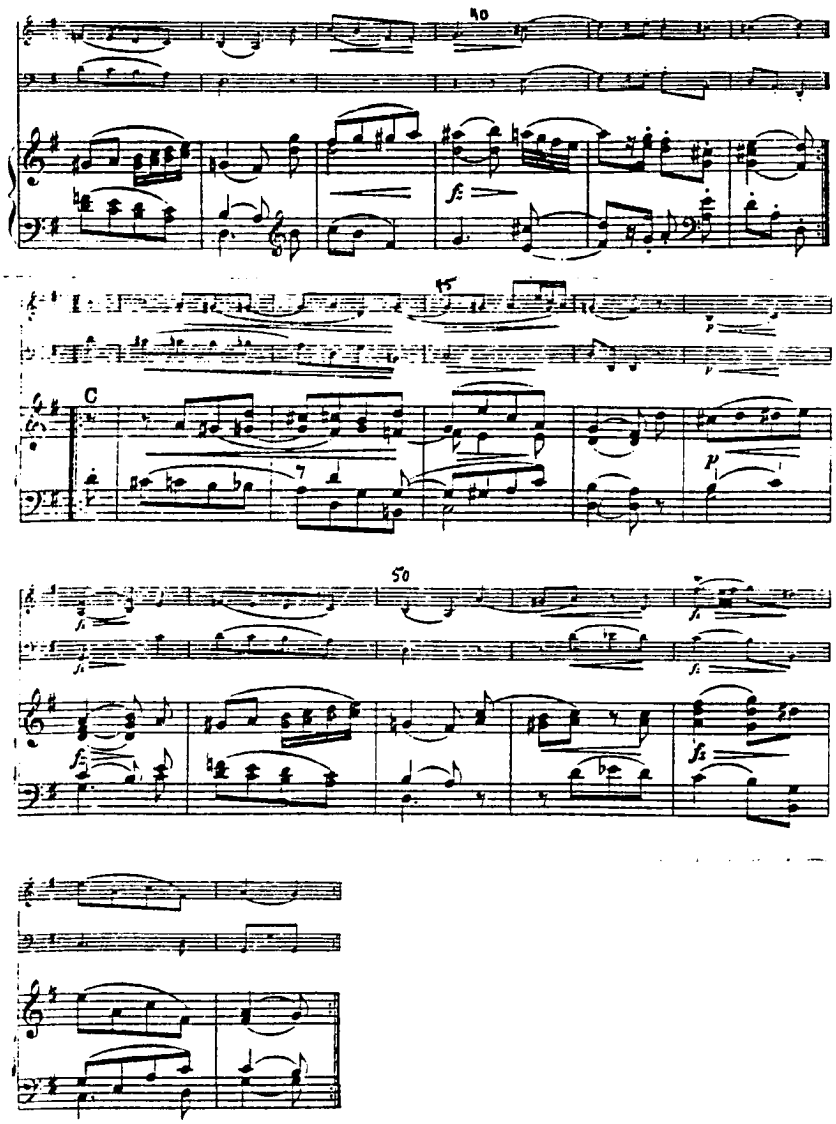
An especially unusual feature of Hob.XV:19/i is found in the second and last variation of the second theme (example 53). In this variation there is a change of meter from 2/4 to 6/8 and a change in tempo from Andante to Presto. This is the only example in the variations of a change of tempo and meter within a movement. As Charles Rosen has pointed out, this last variation of Hob.XV:19/i is a brilliant example of the internal expansion of a phrase as opposed to expansion by cadential extension. The twenty measure theme becomes a fifty-five measure variation which, as Rosen indicates, is actually a miniature sonata form, the theme's second half being presented as the "second theme", in the key of the dominant, at measure 128 and the "recapi-



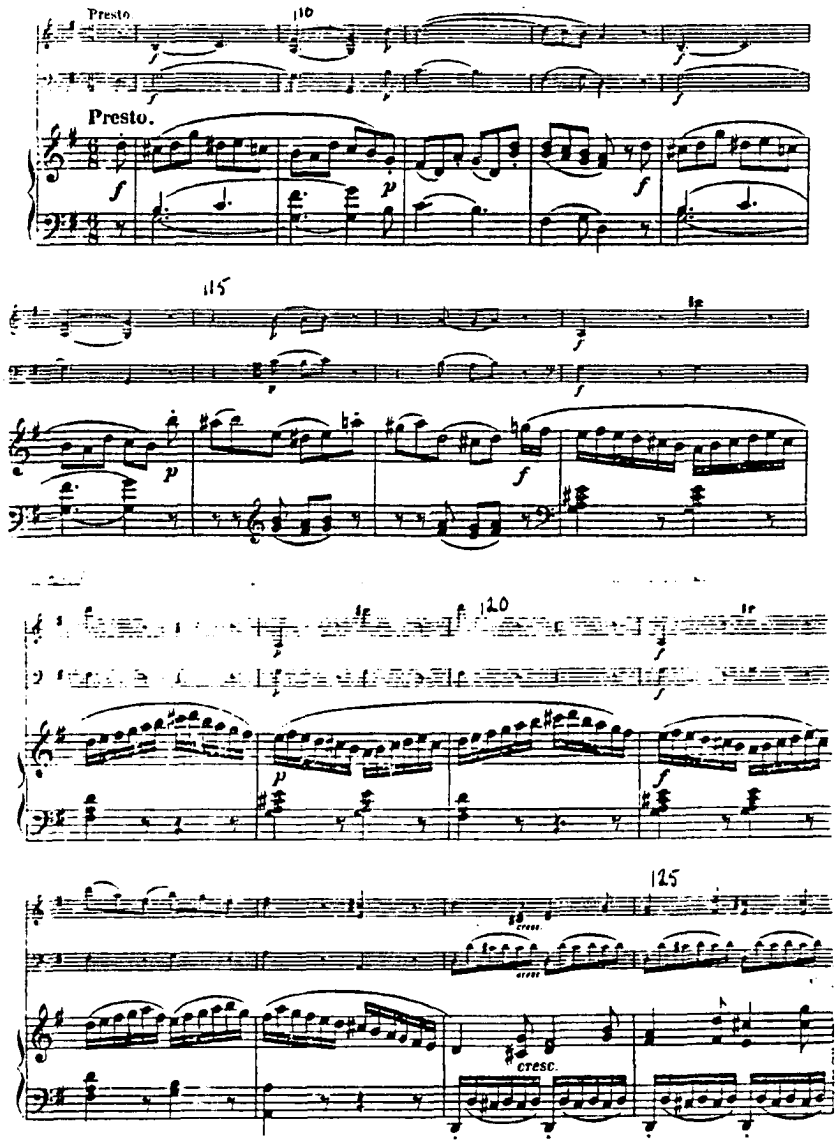


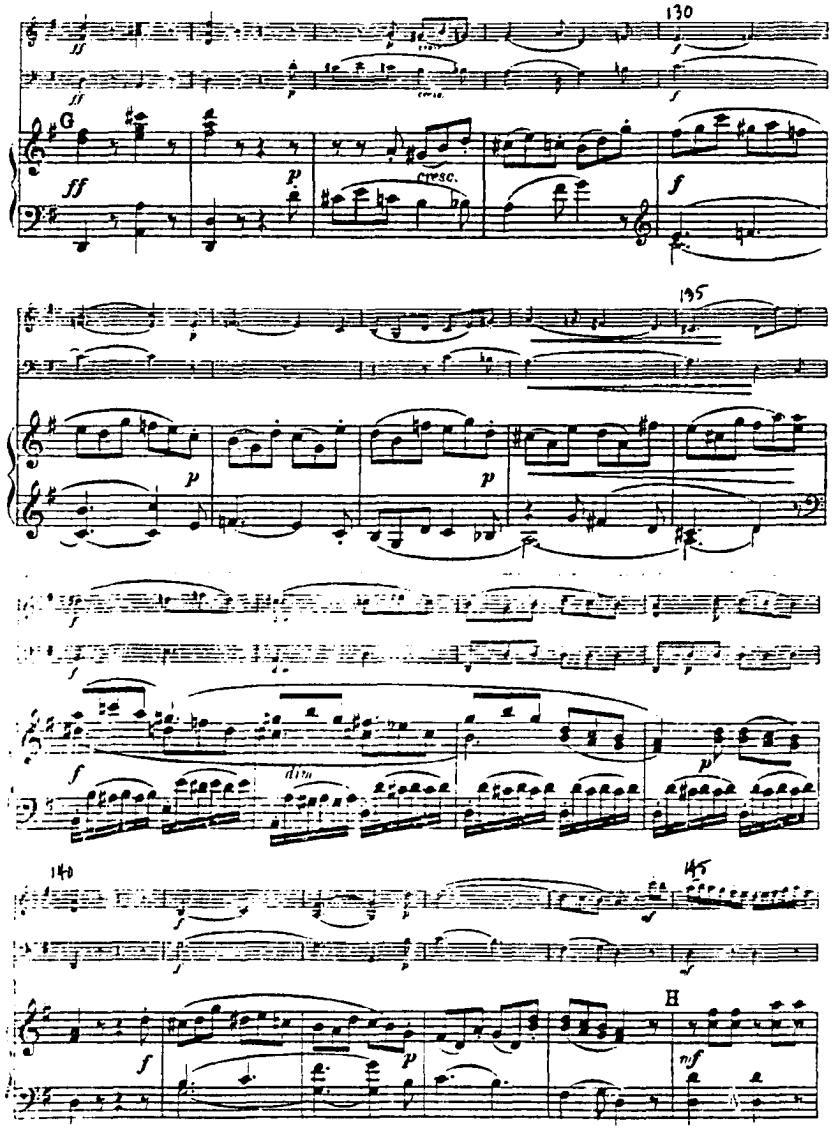
Example 51. Haydn, Trio in G minor Hob. XV:19, first movement, measures 1-34.

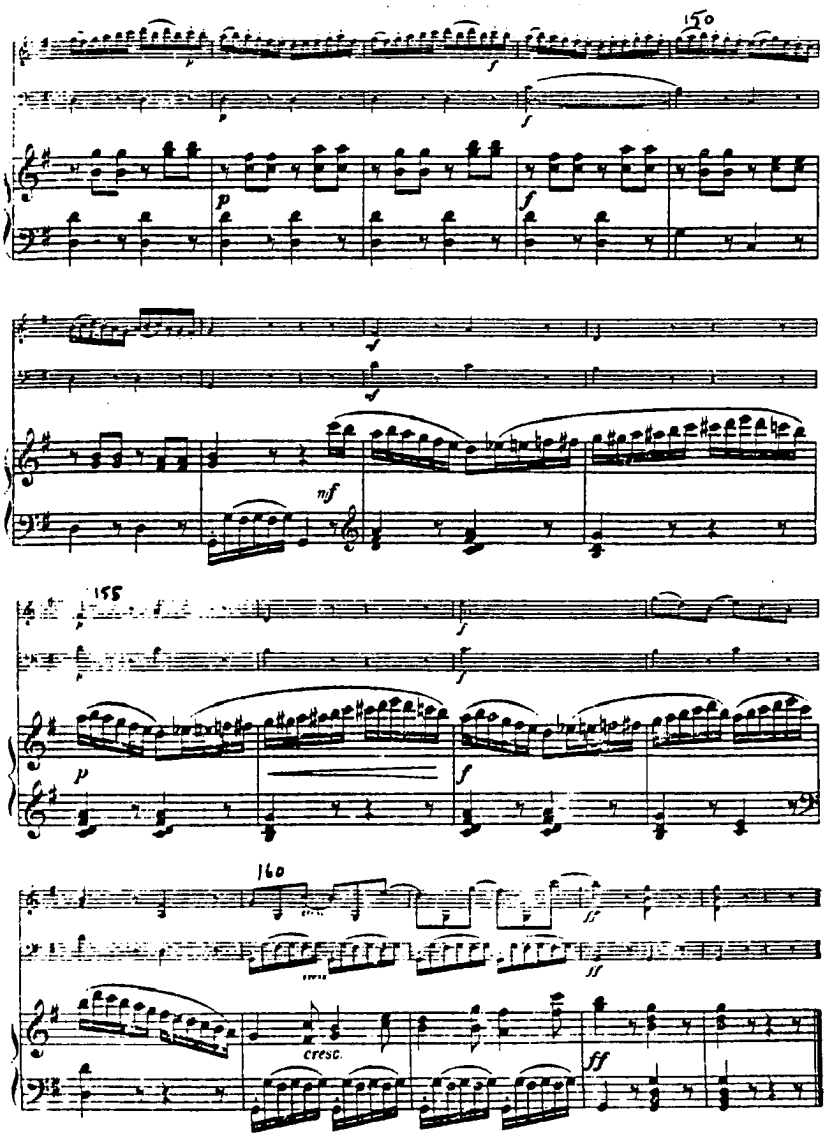




Example 52. Haydn, Trio in G minor Hob. XV:19, first movement, measures 35-54.







Example 53. Haydn, Trio in G minor Hob. XV:19, first movement, measures 109-163.

tulation" beginning at measure 141.[23]

One last variation set has been reserved for separate consideration because of its unusual structure; it is Clementi op.27/I/ii. This non-strophic variation movement has a theme which is an AAB form, only the first part of which is used in the variations. The variations themselves are conventional, ornamental variations of no special interest. Of greater interest, however, is the title of this movement: "Calemba Arietta alla Negra." "Calemba" evidently refers to the "Calenda" (also callenda, caleinda, etc.), a dance which was popular with the peoples of the West Indies and was danced by slaves in the pre-Civil War South. Clementi's "Calemba", the tempo of which is marked Andante innocente, is, however, far removed in spirit from the "Calenda", which was banned in New Orleans in 1843 because of its noisy, lascivious character.[24]

The Binary and Dance-Style Movements

A total of ten movements of the piano trios have binary or rounded binary structures. In addition, seven

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[23]Rosen, The Classical Style, pp. 83-87.

[24]Leonore Lynn Fauley Emory, "Black Dance in the United States from 1619 to 1970," (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Southern California, 1971), p. 219.

movements with dance titles are found, some of which also have binary or rounded binary structures.

Excluding the dance-titled works, the binary and rounded binary movements tend to be the shortest and least significant in the piano trios, especially in the works of the minor composers. The second movement of Hoeberechts op.5, for example, consists of a simple double period, only fourteen measures in length. All of the non dance-style movements are second movements of three-movement cycles and all are in slow tempos except one, Haydn Hob.XV:28/ii, the tempo of which is Allegretto.

The movements in binary form are similar to the sonata-form movements in overall harmonic movement: the area before the first double bar modulates to the key of the dominant or relative major, while the section following the double bar begins in the related key and modulates back to the key of the tonic, touching on other keys in the process. The binary forms differ from the movements in sonata form, however, and resemble the Baroque dance form in that 1) the overall structure of each half tends to be continuous rather than divided into subsections, 2) there is usually little contrast between the melodic materials of the two key areas of the first half, and 3) the melodic materials of these two key areas are less clearly organized at the phrase level and resemble the Fortspinnung of the binary dance of

the Baroque.

The movements in rounded binary form are sectionally divided into two unequal parts, each of which is repeated, but contain three areas of melodic interest. The last of these areas is a partial return of the opening material. Rounded binary forms differ from ternary forms primarily in the degree to which the material beginning the second half contrasts with the remainder of the movement.[25] Two characteristics of the material beginning the second half of the rounded binary form which prevent this material from being perceived as a separate, contrasting area and thus prevent the movement from being perceived as a ternary form are: 1) the thematic material is often related to the material of the first half and 2) the beginning of the second half is often relatively unstable, both in phrase organization and, occasionally, tonality.

One binary movement which is worthy of special consideration is Haydn Hob.XV:28/ii. Hob.XV:28/ii (example 54) is unique among the binary-form movements both in its tempo, as mentioned above, and in the fact that it is the only movement in binary form without a double bar dividing the two sections. Although binary in form, Hob.XV:28/ii is

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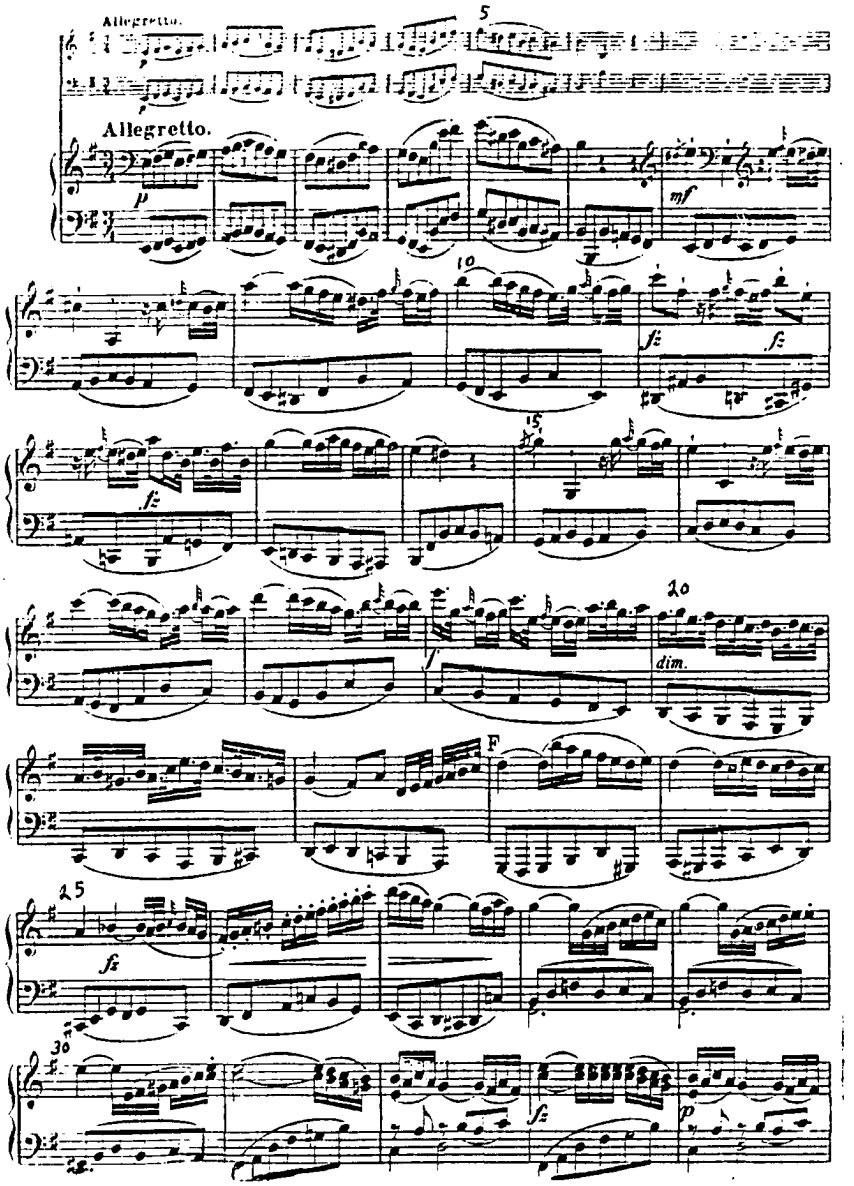
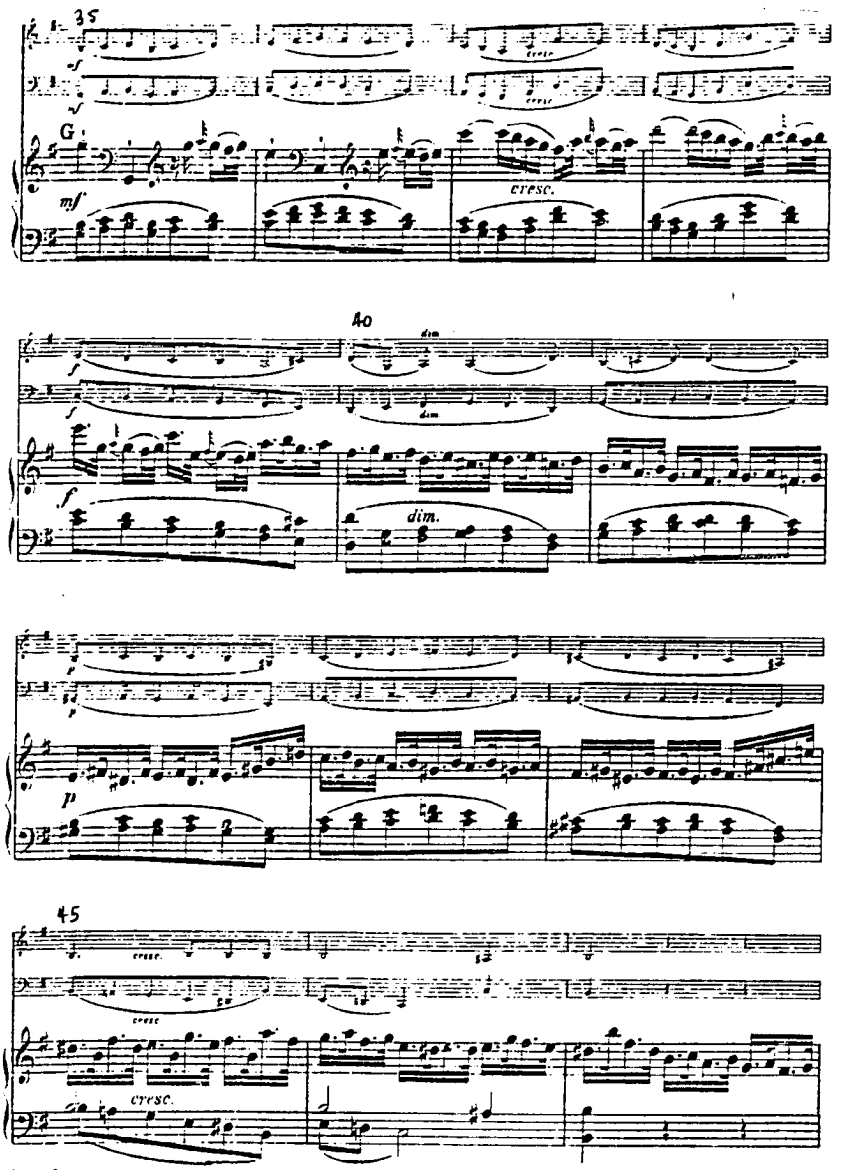
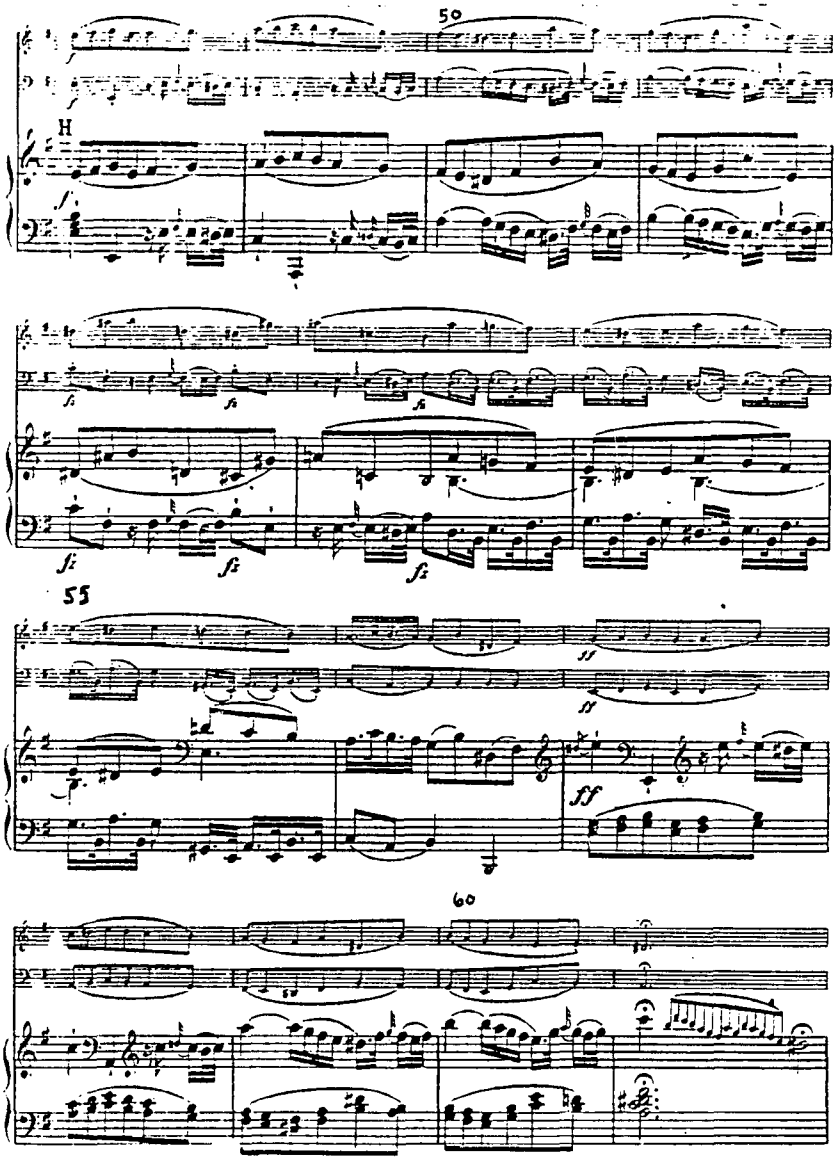
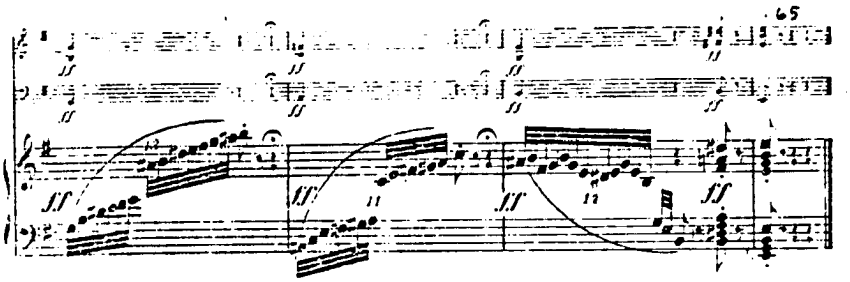
[25]Douglas M. Green, Form in Tonal Music: An Introduction to Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Incl, 1965) p. 85.









Example 54. Haydn, Hob.XV:28, second movement.

written in a style resembling that of the Baroque passacaglia or chaconne. The bass line which begins this movement (measures 1-6) is not maintained exactly throughout the movement, although the eighth-note motion associated with this bass line is. Other Baroque characteristics observed in Hob.XV:28/ii include the frequent use of dotted rhythms (measures 39-47) and the fantasia-like closing section of the movement (measures 61-65).

As mentioned above, seven movements of the piano trios bear titles of dance movements. These include a "Siciliano" (Clementi op.28/I/ii), movements entitled "Polonaise" and "Polonoise" (Clementi op.28/II/ii and Pleyel op.31/I/iii, respectively), a "Menuetto" (Clementi op.27/III/ii) and a "Tempo di menuetto" (Haydn Hob.XV:26/iii), and, finally, movements entitled Allemande (Haydn Hob.XV:29/iii and "Allemanda" (Pichl op.26/II/iii). Three of these movements are second movements of three-movement cycles,

Clementi op.28/I/ii, op.28/II/ii, and op.27/III/ii, while the remainder are third movements. Only two movements, Clementi op.28/I/ii and Clementi op.28/II/ii, are in slow tempos, while the remaining five are Allegretto or faster.

The "Siciliano", Clementi op.28/I/ii, is a symmetrical binary-form movement in 6/8 meter, the tempo of which is marked Andante innocente. This movement conforms to the traditional pattern of the siciliana (or siciliano) in its lyrical melody, broken chord accompaniment, and use of dotted rhythms.

Of the two movements entitled "Polonaise" (or "Polonoise"), Pleyel op.31/I/iii, a 141-measure (including Da capo) ternary form, is far more extensive than Clementi op.28/II/ii, a 24-measure rounded binary design. This disparity in length is probably the result of the placement of these movements in the sonata cycles: the Pleyel movement is a finale while the Clementi work is the second, and slowest, movement of a three-movement cycle. The tempos of these movements also seem to have been influenced by their placement within the sonata cycles. Pleyel op.31/I/iii is marked Con moto, while Clementi op.28/II/ii is slower at Un poco andante. Both movements, however, conform in general to the common pattern of the Polonaise in that both are "stately and festive" dances in moderate, simple triple meter, and in both the phrases begin without an anacrusis and close

with a feminine ending.[26]

Only one true minuet appears in the piano trios, Clementi op.27/III/ii. This movement is a conventional minuet with a trio that is in the key of the dominant and a final Da capo. More interesting is the "Tempo di menuetto" by Haydn, Hob.XV:26/iii. Movements entitled "Tempo di menuetto" appear throughout the keyboard works of Haydn, although such movements are uncommon in his string quartets and symphonies.[27] Hob.XV:26/iii is structurally a quasi-minuet, differing from the conventional design primarily in that the Da capo is written out. In contrast, most of Haydn's keyboard movements entitled "Tempo di menuetto" are in other forms, especially variations and rondo forms.[28]

Two movements in the piano trios are entitled "Allemande" (or "Allemanda"), Haydn Hob.XV:29/iii and Pichl op.26/II/iii. Neither movement resembles the allemande of the keyboard suites of J. S. Bach, which is characteristically in moderate duple meter. Pichl op.26/II/iii is in 3/8 meter and its tempo is Allegretto while Hob.XV:29/iii is in 3/4 meter and is marked Presto assai. Both movements are examples not of the earlier allemande but of the late

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[26]Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 685.

[27]Brown, Haydn, p. 206.

[28]Ibid.

eighteenth century form, common in southern Germany, which is often called the deutscher Tanz: a fast, waltz-like dance in 3/8 or 3/4 meter.[29]

H. C. Robbins Landon has pointed out that Hob.XV:29/iii was originally entitled "Finale in the German Style" in the first edition.[30] The opening theme, which Landon has called "a barroom tune of the heavier sort", has some of the characteristics of quatternary stanza structure (example 55).

In example 55 it is noted that the opening theme (measures 1-22) has the structure AA^1BB^1C and differs from the most common quatternary pattern primarily in the expanded "B" section. Also of note in XV:29/iii are the appogiature which appear in measures 55-58. According to Landon, the deutscher Tanz frequently began with a pattern of appoggiature such as this, a cue to the dancers that the dance was about to begin.[31]

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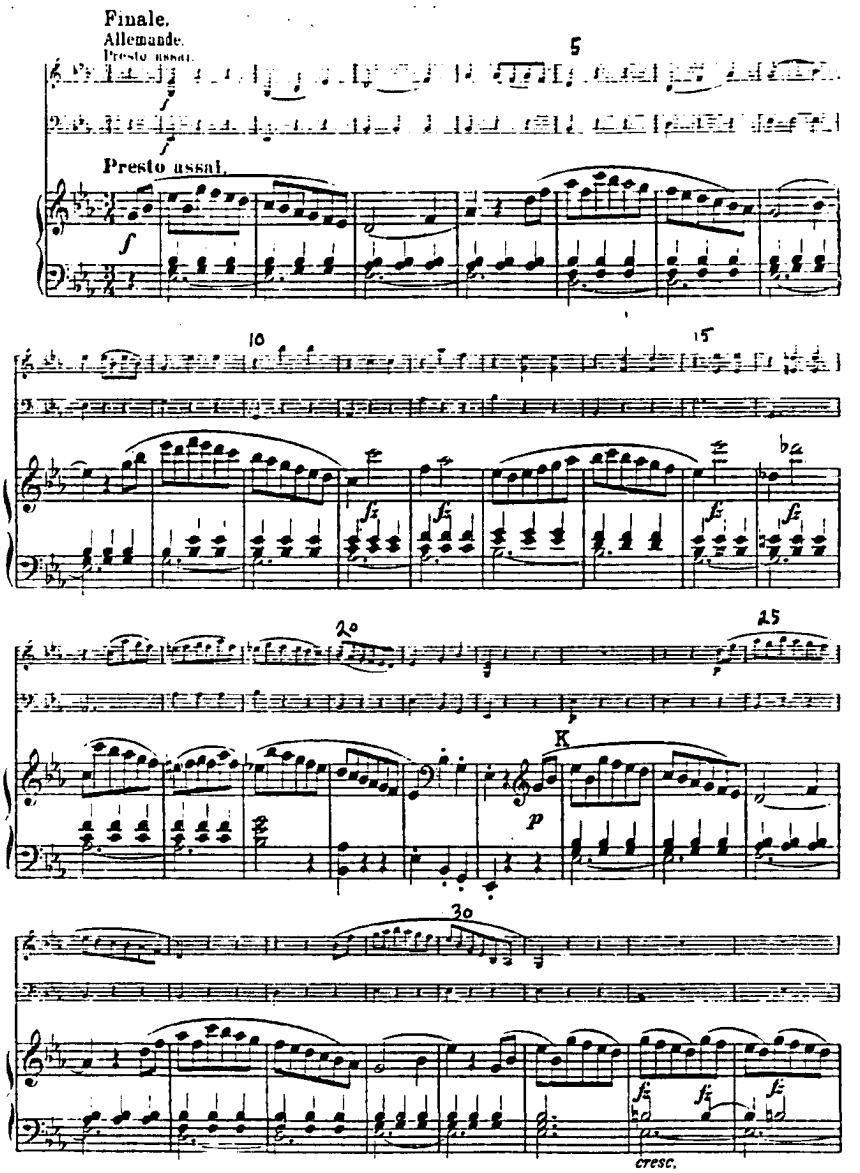
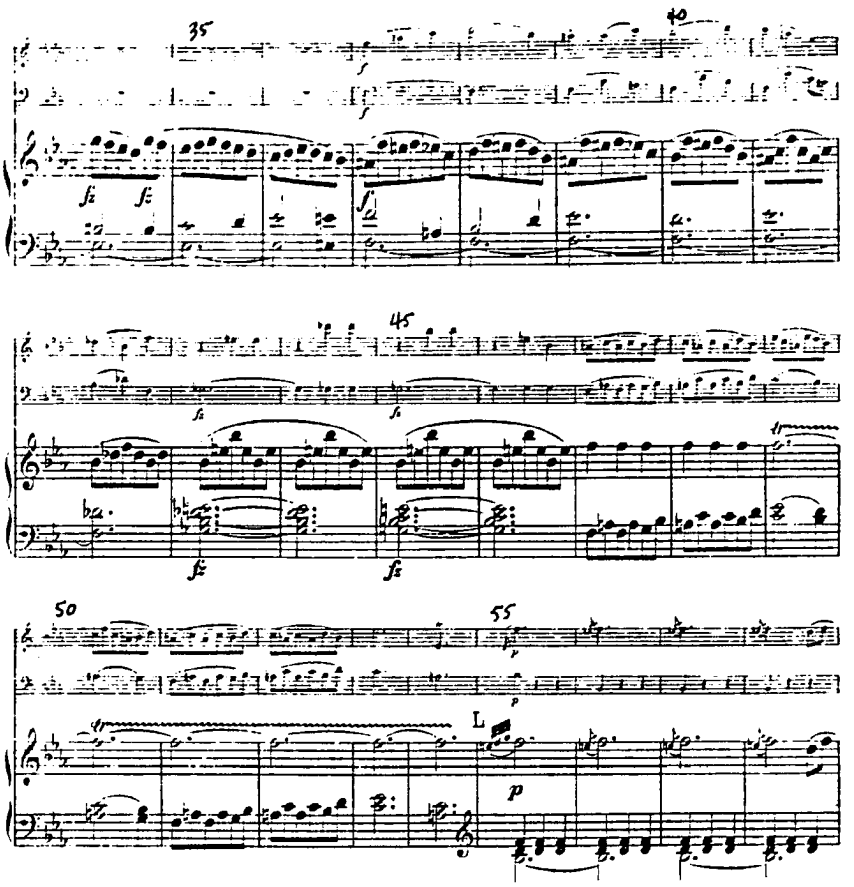
[29]Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 29.

[30]Landon, Haydn, vol. 4, p. 224.

[31]Ibid.





Example 55. Haydn, Trio in E-flat major, Hob.XV:29, third movement, measures 1-58.

The Programmatic Works

Three programmatic works are found in the piano trios: two movements entitled "Chasse" by Clementi, op.27/II/i and op.35/III, and a programmatic sonata by M. P. King which is described in chapter four. Of these, Clementi op. 27/II/i is the first movement of a sonata cycle, Clementi op.35/III is a single-movement sonata, the only such work

found in the piano trios, and the sonata by King is in six movements.

The two movements entitled "Chasse" are representative of a type of program music describing the hunt which was popular from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The chasse was especially popular in the works of the early eighteenth-century French clavecinists.[32] By the 1730's characteristics of the chasse which became standardized in the works of Jean-Joseph Cassanea de Mondonville (1711-1772), Jean Marie Leclair (1697-1764), and Gabriel Guillemain (1705-1770) included 1) the use of 6/8 meter, 2) the use of either rondo or rudimentary sonata form, and 3) the use of triadic patterns, feminine cadences, and echo effects.[33]

Works entitled "Chasse" were also common in the late eighteenth century. At least four keyboard works by Clementi were provided with this title. In addition, the style of the chasse has been observed in other, untitled, works including the last movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 73.[34]

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[32]Alexander Ringer, "The Chasse as a Musical Topic of the 18th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 6 (1953): 153.

[33]Ibid., p. 154.

[34]Ibid., p. 155.

Both sonatas by Clementi display characteristics of the early eighteenth-century chasse. Both begin with long, slow introductions which remain in the key of the tonic and are not thematically related to the fast sections which follow. The fast sections of each are in 6/8 meter and both movements are in sonata form. Also prominent in the Clementi works is the use of triadic melodies. Clementi's sonatas are, however, only vaguely programmatic. Although both works retain certain technical features of the early-eighteenth-century chasse, few of the descriptive techniques of the earlier form, such as the use of echo effects, are observed.

The sonata by M. P. King is much more explicitly programmatic than the Clementi works. As noted in chapter four the title page of King's sonata reads in part: "Cape Saint Vincent, Expressive of the Glorious Naval Victory Obtained over the Spanish Fleet on the 14th Feb. 1797. Composed and most respectfully inscribed to Sir John Jervis." The "glorious naval victory" to which the title page refers was fought near Cape Saint Vincent on the south-western coast of Portugal by a fleet of fifteen British ships under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis against a more heavily armed Spanish force of twice that size.[35] This battle

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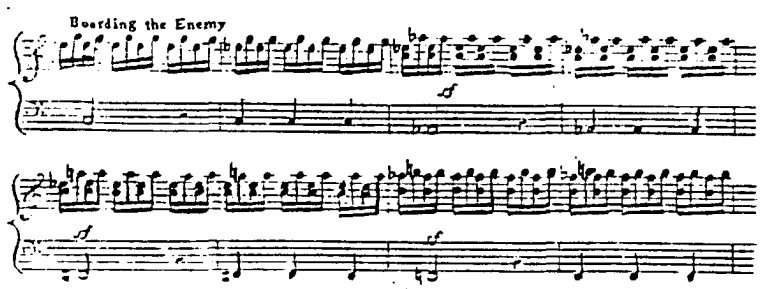
[35]Michael Lewis, The History of the British Navy (Fair Lawn, New Jersey: Essential Books, 1959), p. 158.

earned for Jervis the title of Earl, although the success of the British was largely due to the heroic efforts of Horatio Nelson, then a captain in the British navy, who disobeyed the orders of his superior officer and attacked the Spanish independently.[36]

M. P. King was evidently a prolific composer of such "battle" pieces as shown by a reference on the title page of Cape Saint Vincent to King as "Author of the Siege of Valenciennes etc. etc. etc.". The sonata itself is written in six movements, each of which is provided with a programmatic title. The movements include an introduction and then "Night", "Day-Break", "The Action", "Dismay of the Enemy", and finally a "Navale Finale." In addition, the score itself is provided with prose descriptions of the actions depicted (example 56).



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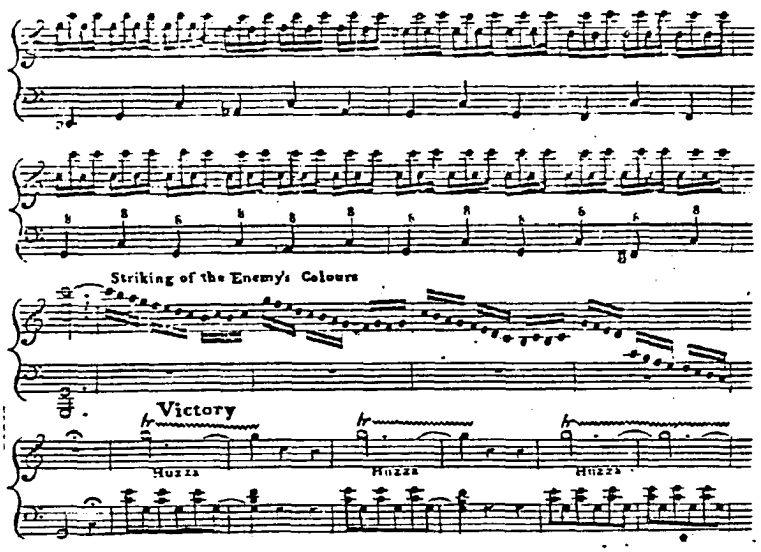
[36] Ibid.



Example 56. King, Sonata op.8, Cape Saint Vincent, fourth movement, piano part, measures 166-193.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Piano trios published in London during the last decade of the eighteenth century strongly reflect the influence of certain cultural and socio-economic factors. In particular the emergence of a large class of affluent, socially ambitious, but relatively unsophisticated dilettantes fostered the writing of music which catered to the short-ranged interests of this group, often at the expense of both originality and profundity.

The type of ensemble music preferred by London dilettantes was the accompanied sonata, the sonata for piano or harpsichord with accompaniment for other instruments, especially the violin and cello. Two varieties of accompanied sonata were published in London in the 1790's. These include 1) the sonata with optional accompaniment and 2) the concertante sonata, in which one or both of the string parts share in the presentation of melodic material. Sonatas with optional accompaniment have been found to be more common in the music examined than concertante sonatas. Although nearly half of the trios have violin parts that are essential for melodic continuity, examples in the trios of cello parts which do anything other than double the bass line of the

piano part are extremely rare.

An examination of the sonata cycles of the composers reveals a remarkable similarity of approach. Three-movement sonata cycles predominate in the trios. The tonalities of the cycles are major keys of not more than three sharps or flats except in the works of Haydn. With regard to the placement of formal structures in the sonata cycles, sonata form is the overwhelming preference for first movements and rondo form plays a similar role in the last movements of three-movement cycles. Many of the departures from this standardized plan are found in the works of Haydn.

An overview of the piano trios reveals that they conform in most respects to the classical style as it has been described by many scholars. Some aspects of the classical style, as it is observed in the music examined for this study, are in need of further clarification, however. The binary period, which is generally considered to be the "ideal" phrase structure of the classic era, has been shown to be less common in the piano trios than might be expected. It is observed that much melodic material is arranged in ternary or quatternary patterns.

The most remarkable aspect of the music examined for this study is the difference in attitude Haydn seems to have had concerning the accompanied sonata in comparison with the attitudes of the other composers. All of the other

composers, including composers of some stature such as Clementi and Dussek, appear to have regarded the accompanied sonata as an insignificant genre, an unworthy vehicle for their serious creative energies. This observation applies especially to Clementi, whose solo keyboard sonatas have earned a significant position in the keyboard repertoire but whose accompanied sonatas are, justifiably, forgotten. It appears that even Haydn, in his earlier years, seems to have held a similar view of this medium. In the trios Haydn wrote for London, however, it is clear that he devoted as much of his creative genius as he did in what many consider to be his more important works, his symphonies and string quartets.

Haydn's interest in the piano trio in the 1790's can be observed in an increase in both the quantity and the quality of these works. Nearly half of the piano trios that are included in most modern editions were written in the 1790's. These late trios are also as impressive in their craftsmanship and ingenuity as any of Haydn's late works. Of particular note is Haydn's masterful use of enharmonic modulation, especially involving tonalities that are third-related. Also of note in the late trios is Haydn's creative approach to form through the use of synthesized formal structures such as the combination of variation procedures with ternary or rondo forms.

It is clear that the late piano trios of Haydn deserve more frequent performance than they now enjoy. It is possible that renewed interest in these works may be prompted by recent exhaustive studies of Haydn and by a recent critical edition of the piano trios, the first to be based on authentic first editions and autograph copies, edited by H. C. Robbins Landon.[1]

It is also clear that much more research is needed concerning the minor composers of the eighteenth century. Of the minor composers discussed in chapter 3, for example, a thematic catalogue exists only for the works of Pleyel.[2] Also research is needed concerning several of the composers discussed in chapter 4, especially in the case of Francesco Tomich, a fine composer about whom very little is known.

Study of the minor composers of the eighteenth century is important because any view of an age based almost entirely on a limited amount of music by a few master composers is necessarily myopic. Also, the greatness of the master composers can only be fully appreciated when their works are assessed in the light of their lesser contemporaries.

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[1]H. C. Robbins Landon, Joseph Haydn Klaviertrios: erste kritische Gesamtausgabe (Vienna: Verlag Doblinger).

[2]Rita Benton, Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of His Compositions (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 1976).

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APPENDIX

Tempo, meter, key, and form of the movements

	1	2	3
Clementi op.27			
/1	Allegro Molto 3/4 C Sonata	Andante Innocente 2/4 G Variations	Allegro Molto 2/4 C Rondo
/2	Largo 2/4-Presto 6/8 E-flat Sonata	Allegro Vivace 2/4 E-flat Rondo	
/3	Allegro non Troppo6/8 G Sonata	Allegretto 3/4 C Minuet-Trio	Presto 2/4 G Sonata
Clementi op.28			
/1	Adagio3/4-Allegro2/4 F Sonata	Andante Innocente 6/8 B-flat Binary	Vivace Assai 2/4 F Rondo
/2	Allegro 3/8 D Sonata	Un Poco Andante 3/4 G Rounded Binary	Molto Vivace 2/4 D Rondo
/3	Allegro 4/4 G Sonata	Andante Allegretto 4/4 C Rondo	Allegro 2/4 G Sonata

	1	2	3
Clementi op.29			
/1	Allegro 4/4 C Sonata	Allegro Vivace 3/4 C Rondo	
/2	Allegro Moderato 6/8 G Sonata	Allegro Vivace 2/4 G Rondo	
/3	Allegro Molto 3/4 D Sonata	Molto Vivace 2/4 D Sonata	
Clementi op.35			
/1	Allegro con Molto Spirito 3/4 C Sonata	Un Poco Allegretto ma non Grazia 2/4 F Ternary	Vivace 3/8 C Rondo
/2	Allegro 4/4 G Sonata	Allegro 3/4 G Rondo	
/3	Moderato 2/4-Allegro Molto 3/4 D Sonata		

		1	2	3
Cramer op.9				
	/1	Allegro Spiritoso 4/4 C Sonata	Andante 3/8 G Sonata	Allegro Assai 2/4 C Rondo
	/2	Allegro Spiritoso 4/4 G Sonata	Andante Pastorale 6/8 D Ternary	Allegretto 2/4 G Rondo
	/3	Allegro Assai 4/4 C Sonata	Adagio 2/4 F Ternary	Allegretto 6/8 C Rondo
Dussek op.20				
	/1	Largo Maestoso 4/4- Allegro non Troppo 4/4 C Sonata	Larghetto 6/8---------- C minor Ternary	Allegro Moderato 2/4 C Rondo
	/2	Allegro Moderato 4/4 A Sonata	Andante 6/8 A minor Ternary	Allegro Moderato 2/4 A Rondo
	/3	Allegro Vivace 6/8 F Rondo	Larghetto Cantabile2/4 B-flat Ternary	Allegretto 2/4 F Rondo

		1	2	3
Louis von Esch op.12	/1	Allegro Moderato 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Andante con Espressione 4/4 E-flat Ternary	Vivace 2/4 B-flat Rondo
	/2	Andante Espressivo 4/4 A Ternary	Allegro Vivace 4/4 A Sonata	
	/3	Allegro Agitato 4/4 D Sonata	Andante 4/4 A Sonata	Allegro con Spirito 2/4 D Rondo
Ferrari op.11	/1	Allegro Vivace 4/4 F Sonata	Cantabile e Sostenuto 3/4 D Ternary	Presto 2/4 F Rondo
	/2	Allegro ¢ B-flat Sonata	Larghetto 2/4 E-flat Sonata	Prestissimo 2/4 B-flat Sonata
	/3	Largo 2/4- Allegro Molto 3/4 A Sonata	Andantino Grazioso 2/4 A Variations	

		1	2	3
Forkel op.6				
	/1	Allegro di Molto 4/4 C Sonata	Andantino 2/4 B-flat Rondo	Allegro 2/4 C Rondo
	/2	Allegro ¢ F Sonata	Andante 2/4 B-flat Ternary	Presto 2/4 F Rondo
	/3	Allegro 4/4 E-flat Sonata	Adagio 3/4 A-flat Through Composed	Allegretto 2/4 E-flat Rondo
Gyrowetz op.9				
	/1	Allegro Moderato ¢ A Sonata	Adagio 2/4 D Rondo	Moderato 6/8 A Rondo
	/2	Allegro con Spirito 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Larghetto 6/8 E-flat Sonata	Presto ma non Troppo B-flat Rondo
	/3	Allegro Moderato 6/8 E-flat Sonata	Adagio 2/4 A-flat Binary	Allegretto 2/4 E-flat Rondo

	1	2	3
Gyrowetz op.14 /1	Allegro con Spirito 4/4 C Sonata	Andantino 6/8 F Binary	Allegro 2/4 C Rondo
/2	Allegro Moderato 6/8 F Sonata	Andante con Moto 2/4 C Ternary	Allegro 2/4 F Rondo
/3	Allegro con Spirito 4/4 D Sonata	Larghetto 2/4 D Ternary	Allegro 6/8 D Rondo
Haydn Hob.XV:32	Andante 6/8 G Ternary-Variations	Allegro 4/4 G Sonata	
Hob.XV:18	Allegro Moderato 4/4 A Sonata	Andante 6/8 A minor Ternary	Allegro 3/4 A Rondo
Hob.XV:19	Andante 2/4 Presto 6/8 G minor-G major Variations	Adagio ma non Troppo 3/4 E-flat Sonata	Presto 6/8 G minor Sonata

		1	2	3
Haydn (cont'd)				
	Hob.XV:20	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Andante Cantabile2/4 G Variations	Allegro 2/4 B-flat Rondo
	Hob.XV:21	Adagio Pastorale-Vivace Assai 6/8 C Sonata	Andante Molto 4/4 G Ternary	Presto 2/4 C Sonata
	Hob.XV:22	Allegro Moderato 2/4 E-flat Sonata	Poco Adagio 4/4 G Sonata	Allegro 3/4 E-flat Sonata
	Hob.XV:23	Andante Molto 2/4 D minor Variations	Adagio ma non Troppo 3/4 B-flat Sonata	Vivace 3/4 D Sonata
	Hob.XV:24	Allegro 4/4 D Sonata	Andante 6/8 D minor Binary	Allegro ma Dolce 3/4 D Rondo
	Hob.XV:25	Andante 2/4 G Variations	Poco Adagio 3/4 E Ternary	Presto 2/4 G Rondo

	1	2	3
Haydn (cont'd)			
Hob.XV:26	Allegro 4/4	Adagio Cantabile 3/4	Tempo di Menuetto 3/4
	F-sharp minor	F-sharp minor	F-sharp minor
	Sonata	Sonata	Ternary
Hob.XV:30	Allegro Moderato 4/4	Andante Con Moto 3/8------	Presto 3/4
	E-flat	C	E-flat
	Sonata	Binary	Rondo
Hob.XV:27	Allegro 4/4	Andante 6/8	Presto 2/4
	C	A	C
	Sonata	Ternary	Sonata
Hob.XV:28	Allegro Moderato 4/4	Allegretto 3/4	Allegro 3/4
	E major	E minor	E major
	Sonata	Binary	Rondo
Hob.XV:29	Poco Allegretto 2/4	Andante ed Innocentemente 6/8----------	Presto Assai 3/4
	E-flat	B	E-flat
	Variations-Rondo	Binary	Rondo (?)

	1	2	3	4
Hoberechts op.5	Allegro ¢	Lentemente 6/8	Allegro Vivace 2/4	Presto Legeremente ¢
	D	A	D	D
	Sonata	Binary	Rondo	Rondo
Hummel op.3	Allegro ¢	Andante 2/4	Allegro 2/4	
	B-flat	E-flat	B-flat	
	Sonata	Variations	Rondo	
Kozeluch op.34				
/1	Allegro 4/4	Andante 6/8	Allegro 2/4	
	G	D	G	
	Sonata	Rondo	Rondo	
/2	Allegro 4/4	Andantino 2/4		
	B-flat	B-flat		
	Sonata	Variations		
/3	Allegro 4/4	Poco Adagio 2/4	Allegro 6/8	
	C	F	C	
	Sonata	Ternary	Rondo	
Kozeluch op.43				
/1	Allegro 3/4	Allegretto 2/4		
	F	F		
	Sonata	Rondo		
/2	Allegro 4/4	Andante 2/4	Allegretto 6/8	
	G	C	G	
	Sonata	Rondo	Rondo	

	1	2	3
Kozeluch op.43			
/3	Allegro 4/4 D Sonata	Allegretto 6/8 D Rondo	
Kozeluch op.48			
/1	Allegretto 6/8 E-flat Sonata	Poco Adagio 2/4 E-flat Sonata	Allegretto 2/4 C minor Rondo
/2	Allegro Moderato 4/4 A Sonata	Poco Adagio 3/4 D Sonata	Allegretto 2/4 A Rondo
/3	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Allegretto 6/8 B-flat Rondo	
Mazzinghi op.39			
/1	Allegro Spiritoso 4/4 D Sonata	Molto Adagio e Cantabile 3/4 G Ternary	Allegro Spiritoso di Molto 2/4 D Rondo
/2	Allegro Vivace 4/4 C Sonata	Andantino 2/4 F Variations	Presto Assai 3/8 C Rondo

		1	2	3
Pichl op.26	/1	Largo Maestoso ¢ Allegro Moderato 4/4 C Sonata	Larghetto 2/4 G Sonata	Allegretto 6/8 C Rondo
	/2	Allegro Moderato 4/4 F Sonata	Larghetto ¢ B-flat Ternary	Allegretto 3/8 F Rondo
	/3	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Larghetto 3/4 E-flat Sonata	Allegretto 2/4 B-flat Rondo
Pleyel op.31 Ben.465		Allegro ¢ B-flat Sonata	Andante Espressivo 3/4 E-flat Ternary	Con Moto 3/4 B-flat Rondo
Ben.466		Allegro 4/4 A Sonata	Allegretto 2/4---- A Variations	Presto 3/8 A Rondo
Ben.467		Allegro Vivace 4/4 C Sonata	Adagio---------- Espressivo 3/4 C minor Ternary	Allegro Molto 6/8 C Rondo

	1	2	3
Pleyel			
Ben.443	Allegro Vivace 4/4 C Sonata	Chanson Ecossoise Con Variazione 4/4 C Variations	
Ben.444	Allegro 4/4 F Sonata	Adagio Non Troppo B-flat Ternary	Allegro 3/4 F Rondo
Ben.445	Allegro 3/4 D Sonata	Adagio Espressivo 3/4 F Ternary	Allegro 4/4 D Rondo
Ben.446	Allegro 4/4 G Sonata	Allegro 2/4 G Rondo	
Ben.447	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Adagio Espressivo 4/4 G minor Ternary	Allegro 6/8 B-flat Rondo
Ben 448	Moderato 6/8 A Sonata	Allegretto Scherzando ¢ A minor Rondo	

	1	2	3
Radiger op.5			
/1	Allegro Vivace 4/4 C Sonata	Allegro Assai 3/8 C Rondo	
/2	Allegro Maestoso 4/4 F Sonata	Grazioso 2/4 B-flat Binary	Allegro Molto 2/4 F Rondo
Seybold op.10			
/1	Allegro Maestoso 4/4 F Sonata	Andante 9/8 F Binary	Allegretto 4/4 F Rondo
/2	Allegro Moderato 4/4 C Sonata	Adagio 4/4 G Ternary	Allegro 6/8 C Rondo
/3	Allegro Maestoso Expressivo 3/4 F Sonata	Adagio 2/4 C Rounded Binary	Arietta Con Variatione 6/8 F Variations
Sterkel op.30			
/1	Allegro 4/4 D Sonata	Adagio Con Espressione ♯ G Ternary	Vivace Assai 2/4 D Rondo

	1	2	3
Sterkel op.30			
/2	Allegro 4/4 C Sonata	Larghetto 4/4 F Ternary	Vivace 6/8 C Rondo
/3	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Larghetto Con Espressione ♂ E-flat Rondo	Presto E-flat Rondo
Tomich op.1			
/1	Allegro 4/4 B-flat Sonata	Adagio Cantabile 2/4 E-flat Ternary	Allegro 2/4 B-flat Rondo
/2	Allegro 6/8 D Rondo	Poco Adagio 2/4 G Ternary	Allegretto 2/4 D Rondo
/3	Allegro 4/4 C Sonata	Poco Adagio 6/8 G Sonata	Allegretto 6/8 C Rondo

VITA

Howard Irving was born June 21, 1951, in Alexandria, Louisiana. He lived there until his graduation from high school.

In 1969, Mr. Irving entered McNeese State University in Lake Charles, Louisiana, and majored in piano performance. Mr. Irving transferred to Centenary College in Shreveport, Louisiana in 1971. At Centenary College he was active in the Centenary College band and the Shreveport Symphony orchestra as a tuba player. In 1973 Mr. Irving graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Music. Also in 1973 he married the former Carolyn Sue Elfgen of Scottsdale, Arizona.

In the fall of 1973 Mr. Irving entered Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to pursue the degree of Master of Music in piano. After receiving his masters degree there in 1976, Mr. Irving continued his graduate studies at LSU in pursuit of the Ph.D. degree in music.

In 1978, Mr. Irving accepted a position as Instructor of Music at Bethel College in McKenzie, Tennessee. His duties at Bethel include teaching piano as well as music history and theory courses. Mr. Irving continues in his position at Bethel and resides in McKenzie.

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Major Field: Music History

Title of Thesis: The Piano Trio in London From 1791 to 1800

Approved:

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Date of Examination:

1 December 1980